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CONTENTS

<i>Barna and Bartolo di Fredi</i>	PAGE 285
BY S. L. FAISON, JR.	
<i>The Destroyed Romanesque Church of Santo Domingo de Silos</i>	316
BY WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL, JR.	
<i>Old Turkish Towels</i>	344
BY BURTON YOST BERRY	
<i>Greek Orthodox Vestments and Ecclesiastical Fabrics</i>	359
BY RUDOLF M. RIEFSTAHL	
<i>Reviews</i>	374

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FIG. 1

San Gimignano, Collegiata: Entry into Jerusalem, by Giovanni d'Asciano (Photo. Alinari)



FIG. 2

BARNA AND BARTOLO DI FREDI

BY S. L. FAISON, JR.

OUR knowledge of Sienese painting after 1350 is still untidy. We have many pictures and not a few names and dates, but unfortunately works and records have very often refused to coincide. Simone Martini's death in 1344 was followed by the Great Plague of 1348, when we suppose that Ambrogio and Pietro Lorenzetti died along with the greater part of the Sienese people.

The confusion that resulted from this catastrophe has probably not been sufficiently emphasized, and certainly the havoc it wrought on the city's government had its effect on her artists.

In 1350 the great masters were dead, and no one had made enough of a name for himself to be considered a likely successor. Whatever energy remained in an exhausted people must have been directed toward the necessities of life, and artists would have had a poor time of it. In the lack of a demand for monumental art—the public buildings were rather completely decorated by this time—what talent there was would dry up. In the absence of a civic spirit charming decorations would be the order of the day—brocades and sweet smiles, jewels and curled edges.

But suppose there had been a genius born around 1320, only to spend the brightest years of his life amid tragedy. Suppose his temperament were of the romantic, explosive sort, a temperament unsuited to pleasant decorative art, but responsive above all to the dramatic. About the time he came to maturity, the world about him suddenly crumbled. His emotional nature reacted violently. Given no chance for expression, his warring, restless impulses produced a strange, dark state of mind.

Suppose, after that, this genius was given his chance, a commission to decorate the walls of a church with scenes of the life of Christ. Without the actual guidance of a living master, our fourteenth century genius would naturally look back to the accepted standards, and, like the Chinese, recreate through them. For this, as Berenson has pointed out, is the specifically Oriental character of Siena: a conservatism seen in the endurance of models by the great masters.

The situation imagined above really corresponds, I believe, to the environment in which Barna grew up. Yet, although he was the greatest Sienese painter after 1348, nothing is positively known about him. When he was born and when he died, or where, remains a mystery. Not a single signed work is left us, nor a single contemporary document that can with certainty be related to him. But to all those who have studied the frescoes illustrating Christ's life, on the right wall of the Collegiata at San Gimignano, the certainty of an aesthetic and hence historical individuality cannot be dispelled, whether or not the author be "Barna." A body of tradition, however, tells us that such was his name. Confused as it is in almost every detail, we may at least suppose that the statements are made about some real person, and even when Berenson says despairingly that the frescoes

(Barna) Flight into Egypt		(Barna) Massacre of Innocents		(G.d'Asciano) Presentation in Temple		(G.d'Asciano and Barna?) Adoration of Magi		(G.d'Asciano and Barna) Nativity		(G.d'Asciano? and Barna) Annunciation	
(G.d'Asciano)	(?)	(Barna)	(Barna)	(Barna)	(Barna)	(Barna)	(Barna)	(Barna, assisted by G. d' Asciano?)	(G.d'Asciano)	(Giovanni d'Asciano)	
Pentecost	Resurrection	(Barna)	Christ among the Doctors	Baptism	Calling of Peter and Andrew	Marriage at Cana	Transfiguration	Resurrection of Lazarus	Entry into Jerusalem		
(Barna)	(Barna)		Way to Calvary	(Barna)	(Barna)	(Barna)	(Barna)	(Barna)	(Barna)		
Descent into Limbo	Entombment	Crucifixion		Mocking of Christ	Flagellation	Christ before Caiaphas	Betrayal	Prayer in the Garden	The Thirty Pieces of Silver		Last Supper

FIG. 3—Plan to indicate arrangement and authorship of New Testament scenes, right aisle wall, Collegiata, San Gimignano

Creation of Heaven and Earth		Creation of Adam		God Gives Adam Paradise		Creation of Eve		Adam and Eve Forbidden to Eat the Fruit		The Temptation	
Expulsion	Cain kills Abel	Noah Builds the Ark	The Animals Enter the Ark	Noah's Sacrifice	Noah's Drunkenness	Abraham and Lot Share Chaldaea	They Separate in Canaan	Joseph's Dream	Joseph put in the Well	(?)	(?)
Arrest of Joseph's Brethren	Joseph Recognized by his Brethren	Moses' Rod before Pharaoh	Passage of the Red Sea	Moses on Sinai	Job tempted by the Devil	Job's Cattle and Army Ruined	Job's Household Ruined	Job Gives Thanks to God	Job Comforted by his Friends	(?)	(?)

FIG. 4—Arrangement of Old Testament scenes by Bartolo di Fredi, 1356, left aisle wall, Collegiata, San Gimignano

may date anywhere from 1340 to 1380,¹ we can only hope somehow to help solve this problem of fitting a genius into his proper surroundings. That Barna was the greatest genius of the period, gives all the more point to this adventure.

The scenes of Christ's life at San Gimignano were done by at least two hands. Anyone who compares the Entry into Jerusalem (Figs. 1 and 2) with the Way to Calvary (Fig. 5) can see this very readily. Any thoroughgoing study of Barna must first distinguish between the two hands, for otherwise confusion would inevitably follow. This problem will presently concern us.

The scenes are arranged on the right aisle wall in six groups of five, marked by the bays of the church (Fig. 3). Under each lunette are four scenes, in two tiers of two each, except for the Entry into Jerusalem, which occupies two longitudinal spaces, and the Crucifixion (Fig. 30) which occupies four spaces. The Annunciation comes first, in the lunette nearest the façade wall. The series continues to the left with the five succeeding lunettes including the Nativity, Adoration of the Magi, Presentation in the Temple, Massacre of the Innocents, and Flight into Egypt. Under the fourth lunette (the Presentation) it continues with the scene of Christ among the Doctors and proceeds to the right toward the façade. The scenes in this top tier represent (from left to right) Christ among the Doctors, Baptism of Christ, Calling of Peter and Andrew, Marriage at Cana, Transfiguration, Resurrection of Lazarus, and Entry into Jerusalem (two spaces). The story continues with the first scene in the lower tier and proceeds to the left as follows: Last Supper, Judas Receiving the Money, Prayer in the Garden, Betrayal, Christ before Caiaphas, Flagellation, Christ Mocked, and Way to Calvary. Just to the left of this is the Crucifixion, filling four spaces. The narrative is carried on at the left in the lower tier of the sixth bay, with two scenes, the Entombment and the Descent into Limbo; it concludes in the upper tier, again from right to left, with the Resurrection and Pentecost. The erection, in the sixteenth century, of an "orchestra" in the sixth bay ruined all but fragments of these last four scenes. The seventh bay is occupied by the Cappella di Santa Fina, erected in the fifteenth century. In all these frescoes the movement follows the scheme. Thus in the lunettes the action runs from right to left, reverses in the first tier of rectangular scenes and returns in the lower tier. Many times this involves the breaking of tradition. The Flight into Egypt for example, regularly moved to the right, as in the examples by both Duccio and Giotto. The Entry into Jerusalem (Figs. 1 and 2) proceeds in the usual manner toward the right, but the women at the gate happily break up the movement at the façade wall itself. A group of buildings further to the right, which the photograph does not show, provides a still more definite termination. The massed souls in Limbo likewise balance Christ's action, at the left end of the bottom tier. Such arrangement as this was very unusual for the times. The Arena Chapel was disposed with the scenes in sequence from left to right throughout, but not all of the pictures "move" this way. In Duccio's *Maestà* both arrangement and movement are irregular.²

Tradition tells us that these New Testament frescoes are the work of Barna da Siena, assisted by Giovanni d'Asciano; but several hazy points have to be explained. Ghiberti says that Barna of Siena painted at San Gimignano "*molte istorie del testamento uecchio*."³

1. B. Berenson, *Studies in Mediaeval Painting*, New Haven, 1930, p. 50.

2. See Weigelt, *Duccio*, pls. 65-66.

3. *Commentaries*, ed. von Schlosser, Berlin, 1912, I, p. 42.

The Anonimo Gaddiano, who uses Ghiberti as a source, records: "*Barna pittore Sanese . . . sono di suo mano a San Gimignano dipinte molte historie del Testamento Vecchio*," but elsewhere calls him "Berna."⁴ The Magliabechiano likewise calls the master both "Berna" and "Barna" and assigns to him scenes of the Old Testament, continuing with Giovanni d' Asciano who is given no relationship with Barna.⁵ Vasari, who had access to these sources, tells us that "Berna of Siena" painted scenes of the New Testament in the Pieve of San Gimignano, that he died by falling from a scaffold before this work was completed, that he died young, that his works date about 1381, and that he was the master of Luca di Tommè. To Giovanni d' Asciano Vasari attributes aid on the frescoes and their completion after the master's death.⁶

A brief consideration will show the confusion in these accounts. Our master is called "Barna" and "Berna." He painted scenes of the "Old" Testament and scenes of the "New." He died young "about 1381," but was the master of Luca di Tommè (who was himself an accredited master in 1355). Before we can progress, some of these puzzles must be cleared up.

It is essential for us to remember that scenes from the Old Testament *were* painted on the left wall opposite, and Vasari in 1568 reports a signature and date, now vanished: "*A. D. 1356 Bartholdus Magistri Fredi de Senis me pinxit*."⁷ Hence we may assume that Ghiberti, who apparently wrote from memory at the end of his life, got the two series mixed up, though it was the style of Barna that really impressed him.⁸ He does not mention Bartolo di Fredi. The Gaddiano and the Magliabechiano must have followed Ghiberti, but Vasari in 1568 wrote from his own observation and careful notes, as we shall see. The trifling discrepancy in the name "Barna" or "Berna" need not detain us. Spelling allowed of individuality in those days, and enough time had elapsed to throw the whole tradition into obscurity.⁹ I shall take up further along the question of dates.

In a thoroughgoing attack on the whole Barna tradition, Peleo Bacci publishes an inscription,¹⁰ dug into the right wall of the Collegiata: "*Lippo da Siena pinsi*." This is not a signature, he says, but a traditional record, put there decades before Ghiberti wrote his *Commentaries*. The cursive writing is in a bold and expert hand of the second half of the fourteenth or early fifteenth century, as Alessandro Lisini attests.

The explanation of this disturbing item seems to be that by 1400 or so the authorship of the frescoes had become more or less doubtful, since the fourteenth century as a whole was not interested in art history. When such interest was revived some enthusiast scratched the name most famous in the city's annals—Lippo (Memmi), who had painted in 1317 the great *Maestà* just across the square. There may even have been academic

4. C. von Fabriczy, *Il Codice dell' Anonimo Gaddiano*, pp. 70-71.

5. *Codice Magliabechiano*, ed. C. Frey, Berlin, 1892, pp. 84-86.

6. *Lives*, ed. De Vere, II, pp. 3-5.

7. In *Life of Taddeo Bartoli*, ed. De Vere, II, p. 61.

8. In this connection it is interesting to speculate on a certain similarity between the Baptist in Barna's scene of the Baptism of Christ and that in Ghiberti's scene on the font at Siena.

9. A similar confusion, between the names "Barnaba"

and "Bernaba," may be observed in Richa, *Chiese Fiorentine*, IX, p. 43.

10. P. Bacci, *Il Barna o Berna è mai esistito?* in *La Balzana* (1927) I, fasc. 6, pp. 252-253. The inscription appears four times in fact, beneath the Betrayal, Judas Receiving the Money, the Last Supper, and the Crucifixion. The name is twice spelled "Lippo," once "Lipo," and once "Lapa." The very number of the inscriptions leads one to suspect they record violent personal opinion and not local popular belief. Certainly the variations in spelling suggest that the confusion between "Barna" and "Berna" is nothing serious.



FIG. 5
San Gimignano, Collegiata: The Way to Calvary and the Prayer in the Garden, by Barna (Photo. Alinari)



FIG. 6



FIG. 7



FIG. 8

San Gimignano, Collegiata: Details of the Prayer in the Garden and the Last Supper, by Barna (Photo. Frick Art Ref. Library)

discussions of this problem of authorship, which finally moved some ardent person to take matters into his own hands. At any rate, the frescoes ought, so far as this point is concerned, to be dated earlier than 1380 to allow enough time for the confusion to develop.

We now have New Testament scenes apparently painted by Barna or Berna assisted by Giovanni d' Asciano, and completed by the latter after his master's untimely death. This is not the place for a discussion of the authorship of the scenes in detail. For our purpose the points established by Cesare Brandi in an article called *Barna e Giovanni d' Asciano*¹¹ will suffice. Photographs of the Entry into Jerusalem (Figs. 1 and 2) and the Way to Calvary (Fig. 5), as suggested above, show their differences very clearly. Brandi notes that in the Entry, which is a very fumbling piece of work, the hands have bony fingers in mannered poses, especially the arched index finger. The hand of an apostle holding a book (behind Christ), the left hand of Christ and those of the boy laying down a cloak are remarkable in this respect, betraying the influence of Simone Martini and Lippo Memmi.¹² The feet are not arched; the toes are jointless.¹³ Hence Brandi's excellent nickname, "Master of the Flat Feet." The faces are sooty, having excessive value contrasts, and shadow smeared on—an exaggeration of a tendency in the later works of Simone. The draperies have similar violent contrasts, and often the high lights do not define real projections. Related to this is a failure to connect the clothes with the forms underneath; with the result that they fall as if hung from pegs. St. Peter and the figure at the extreme left look like shop dummies.

In the Way to Calvary a great difference will at once be felt. The hands are sturdier, the wrists fuller, and the fingers somewhat shorter and wider than is usual at this time, and kept closer together at their roots. These hands are much less elegant formulae than conveyors of a certain dramatic expressiveness. This may be seen, for example, in the gently horrified Virgin. There is a wonderful nervousness in this art. Remarkable is the way the feet grip the ground and propel the figures forward. The soles are well arched, the joints clearly defined, the ankles firm, and the toes compact.

The faces, to be sure, exhibit extremes of value contrast. But careful observation will show that the modeling is done in half shadow, while the low darks are reserved for cast shadows and the eyes. Now this is very important, for here lies the secret of Barna's sinister quality. In spite of all the torsion of pose, gesture of hand, and diagonal cutting by spear and cross, it is the eyes that make us sense tragedy. The whites flash out fiercely from black pupils and shadowed sockets. The contrast is marked to the utmost because the white is concentrated: the eye almost invariably is turned to the side when the face is in front or three-quarters view. Hence the figures seem to contemplate some object within or near the picture plane. The meaningless stare of St. Peter in the Entry is thus avoided. Vertical wrinkles in the brow help to indicate the psychological turmoil. Here is tragedy involving individual human beings whose emotions clash with each other and with their environment. Whoever thinks of El Greco is not far wrong, but Barna is more of a humanist. Recording the violent feelings of real men, he needs no mystical medium of escape.

11. In *La Balzana*, 1928, fasc. 2, pp. 20-36.

12. For comparison, see Van Marle, *The Italian*

Schools of Painting, II, figs. 133, 177, 178, and opposite p. 260.

13. *Ibid.*, fig. 170.

The same troubled consciousness produced the wailings of Giovanni Pisano (at Pistoja) and Pietro Lorenzetti (in the *Pietà* at Assisi), but neither of them has the same inner fury and resentment. It is not too much to suppose that the plague of 1348 is the external stimulus of Barna's drama. As I have said, we may not sufficiently recognize what that calamity must have meant to any sensitive person, and if I am right in the rectification of his dates that will be justified later on, it would be still in Barna's mind.

But to return: the contrast between the Entry and the Road to Calvary may be carried further. Barna, in the latter, composes vertically; he obtains recession by elevation. This is combined with a certain feeling for air and space around the figures. For instance, a dark shield sets off Christ's body while a bright belt marks the soldier as in a plane well behind. The crenellated wall goes back because it disappears behind the soldiers, grows smaller, and changes from light to dark. Again, the distant cross of light value, comes behind the dark-helmeted soldiers, while the white-hooded priest stands well in front of them.

The Entry, on the other hand, is composed horizontally. Figures are arranged in a flat arabesque. In crowds you can make out only the tops of heads. They form a flat imbricated design. To them, the town walls have no spatial relation other than as a picturesque backdrop. Still, there is much more attention paid to stage properties as such than in the Road to Calvary. This, as Brandi says, indicates the strong influence of the Lorenzetti on a minor person.

Lastly, note the group of women standing in the gate (Fig. 2). Their round faces, fat cheeks, thick necks, and plaited hair are all redolent of Ambrogio Lorenzetti, as in the Palazzo Pubblico, Siena. The eyes of these and other figures do not glare in true Barna fashion. They are much too large in the first place, and so lose sharpness. Also they either entirely lack great value contrasts, or lose the effect of them because the lids are brought up into light. Such is the "Master of the Flat Feet," whom we may as well call Giovanni d' Asciano, according to the tradition, as no other name is half so likely to be correct.

My purpose, which is to date the New Testament scenes on the right wall, will not be served by carrying this investigation further. It is only important to have very clearly in mind what a typical Barna looks like. To avoid confusion I have included a diagram (Fig. 3) which shows the location of the various scenes, together with my opinion of their authorship, assuming always that Barna is responsible for all the designs.¹⁴ This agrees in the main with Brandi's observations, except for some of the lunettes and the Prayer in the Garden. Since my arguments will concern some of these pictures, a brief consideration of them must be made.

Christ's hands in the Prayer in the Garden¹⁵ (Fig. 7) amount to a Barna signature. The sturdy wrists and compact fingers compare with those of the Way to Calvary or the Mocking of Christ (Fig. 9) more favorably than with the thin and brittle ones of the Entry. The draperies on the apostles (Fig. 6) are so entirely functional that more than one critic has been reminded of Giotto. Brandi's comparison of Christ's head with that in Bartolo di Fredi's Montalcino Coronation of 1388 impresses me no more than the average likeness of a

14. The Entry into Jerusalem is a possible exception.

15. This scene is illustrated in color in Vasari, ed. De Vere, II, p. 4.



FIG. 9

San Gimignano, Collegiata: The Mocking of Christ and the Betrayal, by Barna (Photo. Alinari)

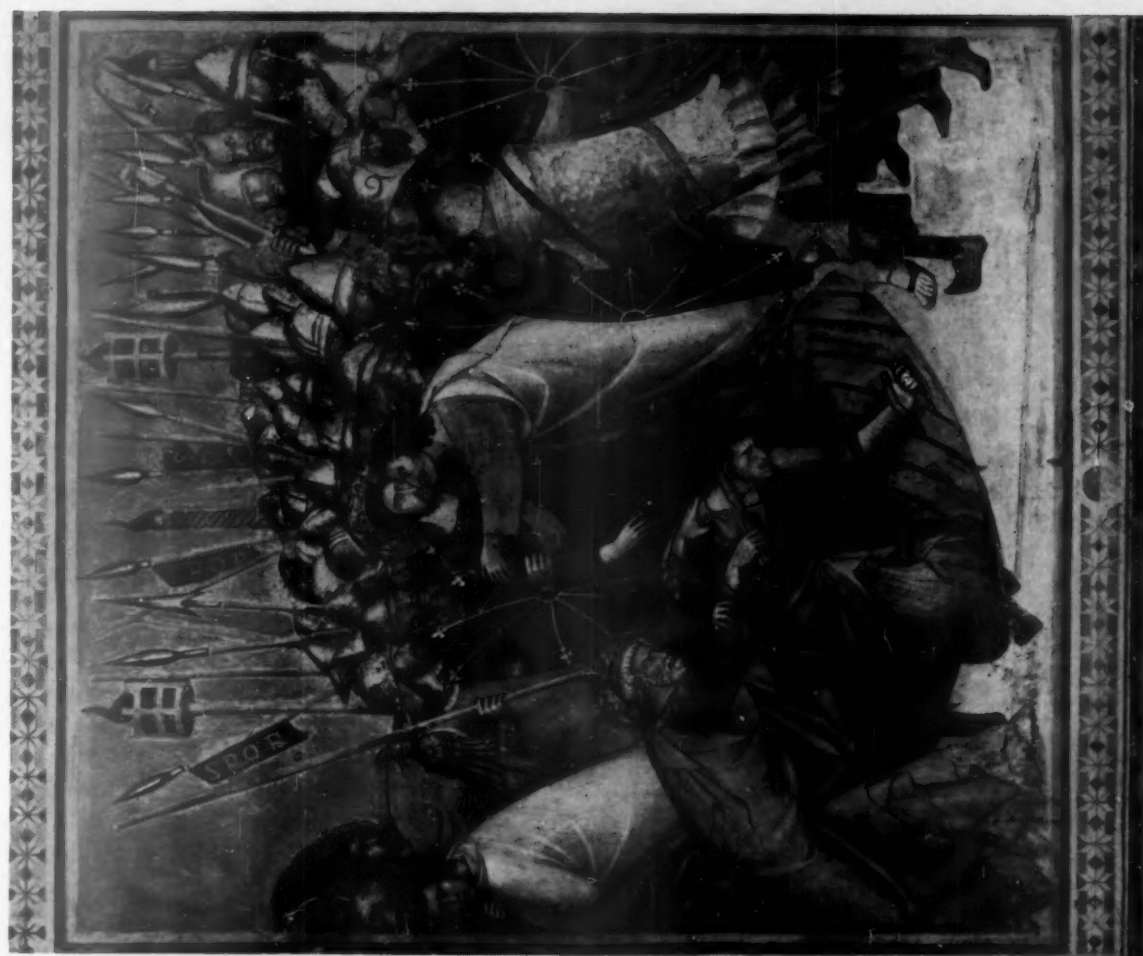


FIG. 10



FIG. 11—*San Gimignano, Collegiata: Massacre of the Innocents, by Barna*
(Photo. Alinari)



FIG. 12—*San Gimignano, Collegiata: Seated Prophet, by Giovanni d'Asciano*
(Photo. Frick Art Ref. Library)

Barna to a Bartolo, which I shall discuss later. Furthermore, the head of Christ is practically a replica of that in the Last Supper (Fig. 8), as are those of John and Peter. Barna's use of line is somewhat prophetic of Botticelli. He could organize hair into units and create details within the units, never obscuring the relationship of the units to the whole. Our Christ at prayer is particularly fine in this respect. But Christ raising Lazarus is not. His curls wiggle down in a flat plane, without reference to their own mass or the underlying skull. It is the same with the white-haired apostles behind him. This failing is typical of the bungling hand of Giovanni d' Asciano; it may be observed again in the Entry into Jerusalem, especially in the apostles' heads (Fig. 1). For these reasons I disagree with Brandi's attribution¹⁶ of the Prayer in the Garden to Barna's assistant.

Brandi's strongest argument concerns the foliage. It is true that the series is conspicuous for its lack of landscape. But the subject in this case demanded it. Barna could create water for the Baptism (Fig. 28), an especially typical work accepted by Brandi, and even fill it with fishes. Why not plants and flowers for the Garden? Furthermore a careful comparison to the trees in the Entry will bring out differences. As with the hair, there is organization of detail in Barna's work but a lack of it in the pupil's. Note how the tree rises from the rocky ground in the picture by Barna (Fig. 6), how it splinters in the one by Giovanni (Fig. 1). See how a system of values expresses some of the depth and volume in the foliage, how it is all flat pattern with Giovanni. Details are arranged by Barna in groups; the childish pupil records only a mass of unrelated facts. In short, I do not reject this scene as Barna's because there is foliage, but accept it because there is relatively good foliage.

The point of the discussion is this: Brandi mentions a similar composition at Asciano, seventeen miles away, in the Church of San Francesco. It has never been published.¹⁷ It bears a date, 1372, but no signature. Giovanni d' Asciano, thinks Brandi, did this work, and amplified it at San Gimignano in 1380, which is his and most critics' date for the New Testament frescoes. For support of my argument that these frescoes date considerably earlier, I will remark that, all other considerations aside, the provincial example would be the derivative, not *vice versa*. It may simply be evidence for the prestige of Barna's series, more of which I shall show later. Furthermore, were Giovanni d' Asciano an independent master in 1372, when, computing from documents Brandi publishes, he was already at least thirty-three years old, he would probably not have "assisted" Barna eight years later, such assistance being the lot of an apprentice. The fresco at Asciano is actually the secondary sort of thing we might have theoretically supposed. It contains foliage very similar to that in the Entry into Jerusalem, and a group of three sleeping apostles which can be interpreted only as an echo of the very closely related and far superior group at San Gimignano.

The Massacre of the Innocents (Fig. 11) is in my opinion by Barna himself, although its ruined condition makes impossible a sure decision. Very typical of Barna is its vertical composition, which in this instance happily places Herod at the top, whence he really commands the scene for what seems to be the first time in art. Ordinarily he is stuffed into a little box at the side. The scene appealed to Barna's wild temperament; he gives

16. *Op. cit.*, pp. 31-33.

17. It is not the same as Van Marle, *op. cit.*, II, fig. 199, but another scene, on the left wall near the entrance.

you visible murder and audible screams. Duccio¹⁸ or Giotto¹⁹ are disappointing in comparison. Harsh angles express Barna's *terribilità*, and diagonals to the lower corners. Gestures, faces, hands, feet, and drawing all indicate the master himself.

It is useless, I am convinced, to discuss what scenes were done first, and so try to discover what was left to be done when Barna suddenly died. We shall assume only that the master designed the whole wall,²⁰ and assigned parts to his assistant to execute. Something we have not yet mentioned will throw light on this problem. In each of the six lunettes above the aisle side of the nave arcade is a seated prophet holding a scroll.²¹ These figures are certainly by the Entry Master (Fig. 12). I need hardly point out the sooty faces, large eyes, disorderly hair, cramped bony fingers, and meaningless bunched drapery. The semicircular and rectangular benches do not create space because the prophets do not really sit on them. These six lunettes are very important for our study. Vasari's statement comes to mind, that "Giovanni d' Asciano brought to completion the remainder of that work."²² It would be hard to say what "remainder" meant, were the scenes on the aisle wall the only ones left. I know of no reason to assume that such work progressed chronologically, that the Annunciation must have been done before the Pentecost. But certainly the Prophets would have waited till the whole opposite wall was complete, and they are so inferior that the actual presence of Barna is not to be considered. Indeed they afford the clearest distinction between the hands of master and pupil, for the latter probably followed at least the design of his master when at work on the aisle wall. If, then, the master was not actually present at the execution of the Prophets, may we suppose that he really was dead? The possibility is at least open.

This brings us to the problem of dating. Vasari, it will be remembered, said "Barna's works date about 1381."²³ It is well known that the biographer manufactured dates when he had none, particularly birth and death dates, so that when he says "about 1381" we may hesitate to believe him. On the other hand, his statement that Barna was master to Luca di Tommè (who we now know was a master in 1355), appears to assume some sort of definite information. If we accept it, Barna's birth immediately goes back to 1325 at least (assuming Barna was ten years older than his pupil Luca), and hence he could not have "died young" in 1381. The statement that Barna "died young" is again to be accepted unless there is proof to the contrary. This item would have served no artificer's purpose, and together with the very odd and concrete account of Barna's death would be just the sort of thing that would appeal to popular sentiment, and be handed on (with additions?) by word of mouth. So much Berenson has already observed.²⁴ I would emphasize the scarcity of the information and works that have come down to us: is this not very likely because Barna died young? Further, we may mention the negative argument that because Barna's name does not appear on the very complete list of painters of 1355, he may very likely have been dead at this time.²⁵ Nor is this all. Milanesi tells

18. Weigelt, *op. cit.*, pl. 13.

19. *Klassiker der Kunst*, p. 32.

20. Except possibly the Entry into Jerusalem.

21. Reported by Baldoria, in *Arch. Stor. dell' Arte*, 1890, p. 42. Photographed for first time by Frick Art Reference Library, Nos. SN 6657-6662.

22. Ed. De Vere, II, p. 5.

23. *Op. cit.*, 5. The Italian reads "*nel 1381*," but the context demands this translation.

24. *Op. cit.*

25. Milanesi, *Doc. per la Storia dell' arte Senese*, I, pp. 24-40. It should be remembered that this is the first painter's register known to us in Siena. If, on the other hand, Barna was simply out of the jurisdiction of the guild, was he working at San Gimignano in 1355?

us of a "*Barna di Bertino pittore del Popolo di S. Pellegrino che nel 1340 si trova nominato fra i giurati al Tribunale della Mercanzia*."²⁶ Considering that no other "*Barna di Bertino pittore*" is known, there is every reason to suppose he is our own Master of San Gimignano.

I venture to add the following quotation from a nearly contemporary document:

"*Questi sono i Prigioni di Contado di Firenze, i quale si trovano nella Prigionia di Lucca, che furono presi nella sconfitta ad Altopascio per le gente di Castruccio nel 1335. Lunedì 23 nel mese di Settembre*" . . . (Here follows the list of prisoners, including) . . . "*Bernardo Bertini, dal Borgo a San Lorenzo*."²⁷

The name Bernardo Bertini immediately brings to mind an epitaph found in Vasari's first edition, but not in the second: "*Bernardo Senensi pictori imprimis illustri qui dum naturam diligentius imitatur, quam vitae suae consulit, de tabulato concidens, diem suum obiit, Geminianenses homines de se optime meriti vicem dolentes poss.*"²⁸ Milanese and most critics have rejected this epitaph as not of the fourteenth century. But we are not to suppose that Vasari made any such decision. As compared with the text of 1550 that of 1568 is very much elaborated with facts not included before. Now the text of 1550 contained all the information, in detail, to be had from the epitaph, which therefore was an unnecessary appendage. In revising his work, Vasari apparently realized this. With a body of additional facts to be inserted, he naturally wished to avoid wasting space. Therefore he did not include the epitaph in his second edition.

Curiously enough, the text of 1550 reads, "*A San Gimignano di Valdelsa lavorò a fresco nella Pieve, Storie del testamento vecchio*."²⁹ Eighteen years later Vasari writes, ". . . *Storie del Testamento Nuovo*." This may be explained, I suppose, by very human fallibility. Let us imagine that in 1550 he forgot or did not know, and looked the matter up in Ghiberti, or one of the other sources. In the meantime he had a chance to see the frescoes, or obtain the correct information in some other way. We know for a fact that he was in Arezzo in 1554, drawn there by personal losses brought on by a war then raging in the Val di Chiana.³⁰ My explanation is supported by the lack of any mention of Bartolo di Fredi in the text of 1550.³¹ This is what we should expect, considering that Vasari at the time calls Barna's work "scenes of the Old Testament."

I shall not discuss these problems further. It is enough to note the ample traditions for Barna's connection with Florence. Ghiberti tells us that he painted there;³² the Gaddiano, that he painted "*una cappella in San Niccolo*,"³³ the Magliabechiano likewise;³⁴ Vasari, that he painted scenes from the life of San Jacopo in the Capponi chapel of San Niccolò in Santo Spirito.³⁵ All of this rests in great doubt, but the main point is important: Barna knew Florence, and Giottesque figures in his work, like the maid in the Annunciation (Fig. 24), bear this out.

We may now construct a loose hypothesis to cover the presumptive facts. A lad named Bernardo Bertini of Borgo San Lorenzo was taken prisoner in 1335 during a skirmish with

26. Milanese, *op. cit.*, I, p. 28.

27. *Delizie degli Eruditi Toscani*, Firenze, 1789, XII, p. 278.

28. Vasari, ed. Milanese, I, p. 650; Della Valle, *Lettere Senesi*, II, p. 116; Vasari, *Vite*, Florence, 1550, I, p. 198.

29. Vol. I, p. 197.

30. R. W. Carden, *The Life of Giorgio Vasari*, London, 1910, p. 118.

31. *Op. cit.*, I, pp. 217-219. (*Life of Taddeo di Bartolo*.)

32. *Op. cit.*, p. 42.

33. Fabriczy, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

34. *Op. cit.*, p. 84.

35. Ed. De Vere, II, pp. 4-5.

the Luccans.³⁶ He came to Siena, settled in the quarter of San Pellegrino, studied in the Simone workshop and spent a great deal of time admiring Duccio's *Maestà*. In 1340, while in his early twenties, he was made juror in a case before the Tribunale della Mercanzia. For a dozen years he lived in Siena, occasionally traveling to Arezzo or Florence. In 1355 he was absent from Siena or dead; he was either working on the frescoes at San Gimignano or had completed them. His pupil Giovanni d' Asciano finished the left-over portions, having already assisted him. Barna never returned to Siena after 1355. He died at work, still young, by falling from the scaffold. The people of San Gimignano honored him.

The final decision rests on what is meant by a youthful death. Certainly Barna could not have been more than forty. We assume that he was at least twenty in 1340. Hence he was born about 1320, and died in 1360 at the very latest. Possibly he was born shortly before 1320, if so he must accordingly have died before 1360. The Collegiata frescoes, as I have suggested, indicate that the horrors of 1348 were not far off, as do the stylistic affinities to late Simone already noted by a great many critics. I might add that no fewer than ten of these compositions are directly inspired by Duccio's *Maestà*.³⁷ Nor is this a case of archaism, so typical of the late and effete trecento.³⁸ Barna has used these Duccio compositions much as a muscian might employ the fugue form. He has not copied Duccio but composed "in Duccio." This, I believe, means that not many decades separated the two masters. Here is traditionalism, if you will, but not academicism.

Everything so far points to a date between 1345 and 1360, rather than one between 1360 and 1380. We may now try to narrow the interval. Again I call attention to the existence of a series of Old Testament scenes on the left wall of the same church. These, according to Vasari, were signed and dated 1356 by Bartolo di Fredi. Certain critics have, it is true, questioned this date. Van Marle says, "taking into consideration Vasari's inaccuracy and the fact that Bartolo was at San Gimignano between the years 1362 and 1366, it may also be that it was during this period that the cycle was executed."³⁹

Now it is hypocritical to suppose Vasari went around making up documents, or that when he was so careful as to make note of an inscription he would get it wrong. Vasari's inaccuracies come rather from his desire to fill out a story where material is lacking, or from confusion in the information at his disposal. Unless we have definite proof to the contrary we shall be sensible in accepting quoted documents as valid.

Certainly Bartolo di Fredi *could* have painted the scenes in 1356. In 1353 we know he was old enough to set up a partnership with Andrea Vanni,⁴⁰ while in 1357 (February 5, 1356, Siennese time) he married.⁴¹ His presence at San Gimignano in 1362 and 1366 proves nothing against a possible visit in 1356 to paint frescoes. 1362 is the date of an entirely political letter written at San Gimignano,⁴² while October 21, 1366, saw him agree to paint an Augustinian monk and an Olivetan, in the Palazzo Pubblico, to celebrate a

36. This point is unimportant except for the possibility of a date. Borgo San Lorenzo seems to mean the town some miles northeast of Florence.

37. Viz.: Adoration of the Magi, Presentation, Flight into Egypt, Christ Among the Doctors, Calling of Peter and Andrew, Marriage at Cana, Transfiguration, Last Supper, Tribute Money, and Flagellation.

38. Berenson reports a late fourteenth century copy of a Madonna at Berlin, ascribed to Lippo Memmi: *International Studio*, February, 1931, pp. 24-29.

39. *Op. cit.*, II, pp. 483-484.

40. Milanesi, *op. cit.*, I, p. 304, note.

41. *Ibid.* II, p. 36, note.

42. *Ibid.* I, p. 260.



FIG. 13



FIG. 14

San Gimignano, Collegiata: Passage of the Red Sea, by Bartolo di Fredi (Photo. Lombardi)



FIG. 15



FIG. 16

San Gimignano, Collegiata: Details of the Crucifixion, by Barna (Photo. Frick Art Ref. Library)

reconciliation.⁴³ There is no point in arguing that Vasari was mistaken, unless there are reasons of another nature for thinking so.

The frescoes are arranged, like the Barnas, in groups of five, each group comprising four rectangular panels under a lunette (Fig. 4). Five full bays remain and part of a sixth, destroyed to make the Cappella della Concezione, and a seventh bay is hypothetical.⁴⁴ The diagram shows their location. The arrangement is more naïve than Barna's. The spectator commences at the façade wall with the first lunette (Creation of Heaven and Earth) and proceeds to the right along the lunettes. He then returns to the façade wall to start with the upper tier (Expulsion), follows out this series, and retraces his steps to the first scene in the lower tier (Arrest of Joseph's Brethren). All the scenes move with this left-to-right arrangement. Each scene occupies a single space, except the Passage of the Red Sea, which as the diagram shows occupies two spaces and interrupts an important architectural division. Barna in the Entry into Jerusalem avoided this mistake; furthermore, he allowed the painted border to cut through his double space, which Bartolo fails to do.

The borders of the two series furnish an interesting comparison. To be sure, the designs are not identical, but they are based on the same scheme. Bartolo's border is a little more compressed, and an ornamental design is introduced in the middle of each cross. Both series have the same inside border, consisting of a band of deep red and one of light yellow orange, each about an inch wide. These, as Signor Peleo Bacci kindly informed me, are the colors of the Collegiata. This indicates that both walls were probably thought of together, and that the chances are in favor of their having been decorated at about the same time.

Bartolo di Fredi, an essentially narrative artist, places an explanatory script at the base of each scene. Barna feels no need for this, but in his lower tier the border is not pure ornament. In each lower corner of a panel is one sort of coat-of-arms, while in the middle is another. These, as Baldoria has remarked, are respectively the device of the Arte della Lana (white lamb with banner on a dark ground) and that of the Opera of the Collegiata (circle divided horizontally, deep red above, light yellow orange below, and OP'A written across).⁴⁵ Now at each lower corner of each rectangular scene in the Bartolo di Fredi series are also devices, unfortunately so mutilated that photographs are of little use. An eye witness of thirty years ago records that these are the devices of the Commune and the Arte della Lana.⁴⁶ I was able to check this by my own observation and also make sure that the insignia of the Opera on the Barnas, and that of the Commune on the Bartolos are variations on the same theme. The Commune device is a plain shield, divided and colored like the insignia of the Opera. The shield is really not that of the Commune, for this had a lion of Florence from 1354, just after San Gimignano submitted to Florentine rule.⁴⁷ It appears, then, that the same two organizations undertook to pay for both series. Like the borders, this proves nothing by itself, but tends to draw the two series together.

43. *Ibid.* II, p. 38.

44. A general description is given by Baldoria, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-42, while a complete catalogue of the arrangement is in Ugo N. V. Pesciolini, *Le Glorie della Terra di San Gimignano*, Siena, 1900, p. 145.

45. *Op. cit.*, p. 42. Also Luigi Pecori, *Storia della Terra di San Gimignano*, Florence, 1853, p. 517.

46. Pesciolini, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

47. Passerini, *Le Armi dei Municipi Toscani*, Florence, 1864, pp. 113-114.

What was the general rule about decorating church naves? Certainly, if there were money enough, those in authority would have the whole thing done at once, preferably under the direction of the same artist. If for any reason he were called away, a successor would be immediately engaged. I am convinced something like this happened at San Gimignano, unless the money gave out. For if Bartolo had painted the left wall before Barna worked there, why did he not continue in the opposite aisle? Surely the people were not displeased with his work, as two frescoes of his exist in the nearby church of Sant' Agostino which almost everyone agrees are much later. Therefore, unless money ran short, I cannot see why Bartolo did not paint the right wall, except for the very good reason that it was already painted. And on the other hand, we have an excellent explanation why Barna did not paint the left wall after completing the right, namely, that he was dead. Giovanni d' Asciano was much too unimportant for the Gimignanesi; accordingly they called on Bartolo di Fredi, a youthful Sienese with good credentials.

In case the money gave out Bartolo would have departed, and when there was more money Barna might have started to work. To this possibility there are certain objections. Either the interval was long or it was short: in the former instance every archaeological argument I have given to prove an early date for the Barnas must be refuted; in the latter, why did not Bartolo resume operations if he was in San Gimignano in 1362 and again in 1366? Moreover, an argument from style demands a date for the Barnas before 1356.

In the meantime, we may first show that the two series are close in date, whichever came first. The Passage of the Red Sea best serves our purpose (Figs. 13 and 14). Clearly, its style bears little resemblance to Barna's. We miss the long, swaying figures in fourteenth century pose, involved in sheaths of broadcloth whose cascades end in curls or in long tongue-like points. We miss the sinister note, the glaring expressions, the dramatic concentration. What strikes us is an amusing, child-like spirit, a naïve mind lost in the details of a story.

Look at the soldiers. Observe particularly their breastplates, and the long stiff pleats that sprout down from their shoulder guards. Turn now to Barna's Massacre of the Innocents (Fig. 11) and look closely at the murderer on the left. On his shoulders appear these same arrangements. The design on his back repeats very nearly that on the dying warrior's abdomen in Bartolo's picture across the nave. The skirts are identical except that Barna's has additionally two rows of long scales which, however, occur at the right on Bartolo's standing soldier. If a better preserved Barna is preferred, there is the Betrayal (Fig. 10) with a soldier at the left holding a spear; or better still, the Crucifixion, where a mounted officer beneath Christ's left arm and another under him both show this same treatment of the shoulders (Fig. 15). The signs of such armor earlier in the century are to be found in the scenes of Christ before Herod, and Christ before Pilate a Second time,⁴⁸ but the occurrences are rare, despite a great many soldiers. The motive continues in Ugolino da Siena.⁴⁹ In Simone it is much closer.⁵⁰ It recurs in Ambrogio Lorenzetti,

48. Weigelt, *Duccio*, pl. 33.

49. Calvary, National Gallery, London; Van Marle, *op. cit.*, II, fig. 64.

50. Calvary, Louvre; Antwerp altarpiece; St. Martin leaving the Army, Assisi.

in the Martyrdom of Franciscans at San Francesco, Siena.⁵¹ But none of these comparisons are so convincing as this likeness between works in the same church.

I now call attention to a very peculiar kind of headdress which occurs twice in the Passage of the Red Sea (Fig. 14) on the woman next the standing soldier, and again on the woman fourth to the right from her.⁵² A cloth has been tied closely over the hair, swelling out back of the ears into "buns" such as women wore not many years ago. Evidently the cloth was fastened behind, as there is no fillet. Down the middle of the head runs a design between pairs of parallel lines. In Barna's Crucifixion this ornament is thrice repeated, in one case with most gratifying clarity. For the woman leaning over the Virgin is observed from above, so that the bulges come out all the more forcefully (Fig. 16). This type of headdress with "buns" is extremely rare in Sienese painting, though the ornamental pattern down its middle is very common. Its development can be traced in different sorts of headdresses already current, but the motive itself vanishes almost as soon as it occurs. Before the 1350's it was a hood attached to a mantle, like that on the man above Christ in Simone's Deposition at Antwerp.⁵³ A woman at the left in this picture is so cut off by the adjoining figures that her headdress at first seems to be like those we have in mind. Actually, a hood comes over the cloth. This suggests a great many Madonnas with just such arrangements, from Duccio on. The Stoclet Madonna⁵⁴ shows it in the first quarter of the century, and Ambrogio's Presentation in the Temple, in 1342.⁵⁵ The motive as it appears with bulges at San Gimignano will be found in a few panels like a Crucifixion in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (Fig. 29), but there is a very good reason for this, which I shall give later.

These two points of iconography are enough to show that the two series are not far apart in the matter of years. Although I have already indicated that Bartolo's work was in all probability subsequent, I am not yet ready to press this point even in the light just shed. For a complicated stylistic argument against the supposition that Barna decorated the right wall after Bartolo di Fredi had completed the left remains to be pursued. It involves, unavoidably, some attention to Bartolo as he was in 1356 and before. What was his equipment? How developed a painter was he? Does the body of his work exhibit any noticeable changes? If so, is there any relation in this evolution to Barna?

Unfortunately the first reference to Bartolo is that which concerns his partnership with Andrea Vanni in 1353. We know from a document dated 1361 that his master and father was one Manfredi,⁵⁶ but the identity of this person has never been fixed. There is nothing to do but consult the pictures, and read what they have to say.

A casual survey, even, reveals the master of the left wall cycle as a young man full of Lorenzettian ideas. He likes stories, settings, costumes, animals, and minor descriptive detail. For composition or psychological unity he has no regard. To so much all have agreed. But there is much surer proof, for the skeptical. Observe, for example, the

51. Soldier at the right. Illustrated in Van Marle, *op. cit.*, II, fig. 254.

52. The same motive is partially visible on the woman second to the right.

53. Weigelt, *Sienese Paintings of the Trecento*, Pantheon Series, pl. 61.

54. *Ibid.*, pl. 11.

55. *Ibid.*, pl. 108. I acknowledge from this and the Vico l'Abate Madonna (1319), pl. 91, that it could be argued that the motive is simply Ambrogian. But its occurrence without the overmantle or hood is very much more restricted.

56. Milanesi, *op. cit.*, II, p. 36.

suckling infant in Moses on Sinai (Fig. 17). Compare it detail for detail with Ambrogio's already famous Madonna del Latte in the Seminary, Siena (Fig. 18). It corresponds so exactly that coincidence is not to be thought of. The Passage of the Red Sea shows beyond doubt how specific this inspiration was (Fig. 14), for the same child appears once again, or even three times if a certain freedom of interpretation be allowed.

In the scene where Moses produces a serpent from his rod in the presence of Pharaoh (Fig. 19) is one of the many Lorenzettian stage settings that are to be found in Bartolo's series. Most of Pietro's and Ambrogio's narratives have architecture like this, for example St. Louis before Boniface VIII, at San Francesco, Siena.⁵⁷ Or again, Bartolo's Dream of Joseph will recall Pietro's Angel Appearing to a sleeping Man, in the Academy, Siena.⁵⁸

Another bit of evidence is afforded by the helmets. Observe closely one kind in the Passage of the Red Sea (Fig. 13), globular, with rounded visor. It occurs in several other scenes. It is much more popular with the Lorenzetti than elsewhere. Fine specimens will be found in Pietro's Crucifixion at San Francesco, Siena,⁵⁹ and in Ambrogio's Martyrdom of the Franciscans.⁶⁰ Duccio, on the other hand, almost invariably employs a helmet like the French *poilus* wore, with a ridge down its middle; it is in all the passion scenes, especially Christ Before Annas.⁶¹ This helmet, interestingly enough, is very popular with Barna, and not at all with Simone, and therefore shows, as his compositions did, how much Barna admired the Duccio *Maestà*. The Betrayal (Fig. 10) would furnish a whole museum with helmets, including the *poiin*, the "Lorenzettian," and the type with a dotted border used by Bartolo in the Passage of the Red Sea at the right (Fig. 14). And this, I suspect, is not entirely without significance.

If Bartolo di Fredi, then, is an enthusiastic student of the Lorenzetti, what shall we say of certain undeniably Simonesque elements in his series of 1356? I refer to the astigmatic eyes, peevish faces, slender forms, and calligraphic voluminous drapery which is best seen in Moses before Pharaoh (Fig. 19). Note the cascades of cloth at both edges of the picture, and beyond Pharaoh a sage who is surely first cousin to him who hands down the dead Saviour in Simone's Deposition at Antwerp.⁶² The further Bartolo's style is traced, the less Lorenzettian and the more Simonesque it becomes. For 1382 we possess a Deposition, at Montalcino, with something of Martini's long passionate figures and sinuous curves.⁶³ By 1388, in the Montalcino Coronation with its pendant scenes at Siena,⁶⁴ there is a certain restraint. The figures are more normally proportioned, their garments less involved. The heads are not so pear-shaped, nor the eyes so astigmatic. The result, according to my observation, is that the spirit is quite close to Simone himself and not so much a caricature or exaggeration of him. The Sposalizio, for all its Ambrogian temple and narrative sprightliness, would never be considered a Lorenzettian school piece, since the prevailing tone is decorative, hieratic, charming. Like his associates, Bartolo returned to Byzantine canons late in the century.

Now Bartolo must have been born about 1330. In the first place, he was old enough to keep shop in 1353, and in the second place, he died in 1410. He could, at the most, barely

57. Van Marle, *op. cit.*, II, fig. 256.

58. *Ibid.*, fig. 231.

59. *Ibid.*, fig. 239.

60. *Ibid.*, fig. 255.

61. Weigelt, *Sienese Paintings of the Trecento*, pl. 29.

62. Van Marle, *op. cit.*, II, fig. 162.

63. Perkins, in *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, XVIII (1925-1926), p. 58.

64. Van Marle, *op. cit.*, II, figs. 321-323.



FIG. 17—San Gimignano, Collegiata: *Moses on Sinai*, by
Bartolo di Fredi (Photo. Lombardi)



FIG. 18—Siena, Academy: *Madonna*, by
Ambrogio Lorenzetti



FIG. 19—San Gimignano, Collegiata: *Moses before Pharaoh*, by Bartolo di Fredi (Photo. Lombardi)



FIG. 20—San Gimignano, Collegiata: *Christ before Caiaphas*, by Earna (Photo. Alinari)

remember Simone, who never returned to Siena after 1339. The Lorenzetti are lost to view after 1344, but we suppose they lived on to die in the plague year, 1348. Bartolo could have studied under them till he was about eighteen. We know his master was his father Manfredi, whom we accordingly place in the Lorenzetti school, and to whom we may assign the son's training till he was ready to open a shop with Andrea Vanni. The question still remains, where did all the Simone influence come from? There is a perfectly good general answer, that it was "in the air," that conditions favored close, decorative art. There is a more definite answer, that Lippo Memmi, according to Vasari, "lived for twelve years after Simone, executing many works throughout all Italy."⁶⁵ And Lippo Vanni, who worked in the Simone tradition, must have been older than Bartolo, for we know that he did miniatures in 1341,⁶⁶ and a manuscript of the seventeenth century informs us that there was once an altarpiece signed by him and dated 1330.⁶⁷ Berenson has already suggested that Lippo Vanni was instrumental in passing on the Simone tradition to the later Sienese trecento.⁶⁸ Here are three plausible accounts for Simonesque influence on Bartolo di Fredi. I will add that if a very young and enthusiastic Bartolo walked into the Collegiata to find a wonderful series of frescoes complete or very nearly so, this too was not without its effect.

I have perhaps not stressed enough the Simonesque character which marks Barna's work despite Lorenzettian influences. This has been indicated many times by others, and need not be repeated. The main changes from Simone, however, are worth noting: the still longer forms, hipshot poses, more voluminous cascades of cloth forming curls and tongues at the edges. All this is fourteenth century Gothic in its prime. Psychological and dramatic intensity can best be attributed to Barna's own temperament.

I have argued archaeologically to show that Barna must have done his work before Bartolo did his. I have indicated Simonesque tendencies in an Ambrogian Bartolo and suggested that familiarity with Barna is a contributing factor. I have noted similarities of iconography, one of which, the headcloth with "buns," is extraordinary. Finally, I may say there can be no question of Bartolo's influencing Barna, for this is denied by the aesthetic fact that Barna's works are great and Bartolo's are not. The strong personality with "style" has no interest in unfocused young spirits.

Look once more at the robed priest on the left in *Moses on Sinai* (Fig. 17). Compare him with one similarly placed in *Christ before Caiaphas* (Fig. 20). You will note how the drapery is caught up and falls alike in both cases. On the ground the edges bend slightly, as Pietro Lorenzetti bent them, inspired by Giovanni Pisano.⁶⁹ For the fold thrown back over the shoulder of Bartolo's priest there are many parallels in Barna; for instance, the *Prayer in the Garden* (Fig. 6). The faces of our two priests have a certain kinship too. There is a mental force unexpected by anyone who has looked only at the ladies in the *Passage of the Red Sea*. The likeness must not be overstressed; but it is enough, I think, to suggest a certain respect entertained by young Bartolo for his remarkable predecessor.

65. Ed. De Vere, I, p. 173.

66. Note 3 in Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ed. Douglas, III, p. 89.

67. *Ibid.*

68. Berenson, *op. cit.*, pp. 52 ff.

69. E. g., the *Nativity*, Opera del Duomo, Siena. Van Marle, *op. cit.*, II, fig. 244.

In his Banquet Scene⁷⁰ Bartolo has arranged the elements into a "vertical composition" by placing the table half way up the space and grouping young servants in front (Fig. 21). By this arrangement the main figures come near the top and are kept well back of the picture plane. This is exceptional in the Old Testament scenes. In every other case the chief persons are very much in the foreground, and generally in the lower half of the picture. But this "vertical composition," we remember, is typical of Barna—this placing of the main figures high up, or back, or both. There are a great many examples, such as Christ Among the Doctors, and still better the Marriage at Cana (Fig. 22), where again a white table divides the picture in half, with servant boys in front, and principal characters behind. Even the borders of Barna's table cloth and Bartolo's napkin (over a dish carried by a boy on the right) are identical!

If another very small point be allowed, compare the ornament on the tents in Moses on Sinai (Fig. 17) with that on the distaff which the eavesdropping servant holds in the Annunciation (Fig. 24). So close a resemblance as this implies an affinity if not an identity in date, because style in ornament changed very rapidly in Siena during the trecento.

It may be wondered whether Giovanni d'Asciano, who was more Lorenzettian than was Barna, did not especially interest the young Bartolo. We may suppose that no one cared what parts of the New Testament cycle had been done by master, what by pupil. Certainly this indifference would be within the psychology of that day. The painted wall was a unit, to be taken for what it was worth. But if my surmise is right, Bartolo would have been attracted by those scenes congenial with his own point of view more than by those strange, ominous creations of which he could comprehend only the outer shell.

In the Entry into Jerusalem the Virgin wears under her hood a white headcloth which is drawn so tightly about her throat that it seems to choke her (Fig. 2). This disturbing effect never occurs in Barna's own work, except possibly in the case of the old woman at the extreme left in the Crucifixion (Fig. 30). Barna's veils hang comfortably and gracefully below the chin, as may be seen in the Way to Calvary (Fig. 5) and the Marriage at Cana (Fig. 22). On the other hand, additional examples of the tightly drawn veil appear in Giovanni d'Asciano, such as the Presentation in the Temple (Fig. 23) and the Pentecost, both of which scenes contain the stylistic marks already defined as typical of his hand. Bartolo di Fredi affords six more examples in a single composition, the Passage of the Red Sea (Fig. 14). The Lorenzetti and their school often use the ampler type of veil here seen, but generally speaking, it follows the tradition set by Duccio and Simone by hanging loosely under the chin.⁷¹ This allows a certain linear play of fold; but already the decorative character is impinged upon by a feeling for mass. This may be seen by comparison with any of Duccio's or Simone's cloths, such as that on the Madonna in Simone's *Maestà*.⁷² Occasionally this calligraphic quality is still further submerged, as in the St. Humility altarpiece,⁷³ where, as in Bartolo di Fredi, the cloth is bound close to the throat. It is to be noted that these instances are aesthetically contrary to the spirit of

70. Pesciolini's title is The Devil Persuades God to Tempt Job; *op. cit.*, p. 45. L. Chellini's title, Job Tempted by the Devil, seems preferable (*Guide of San Gimignano*, Florence, 1931, p. 14).

71. Figure of Prudence in the Allegory of Good

Government (Van Marle, *op. cit.*, II, fig. 268); figure of Herodias in the Dance of Salome, Church of the Servi, Siena (Weigelt, *op. cit.*, pl. 79).

72. Van Marle, *op. cit.*, II, figs. 245-247.

73. Weigelt, *op. cit.*, pl. 37.

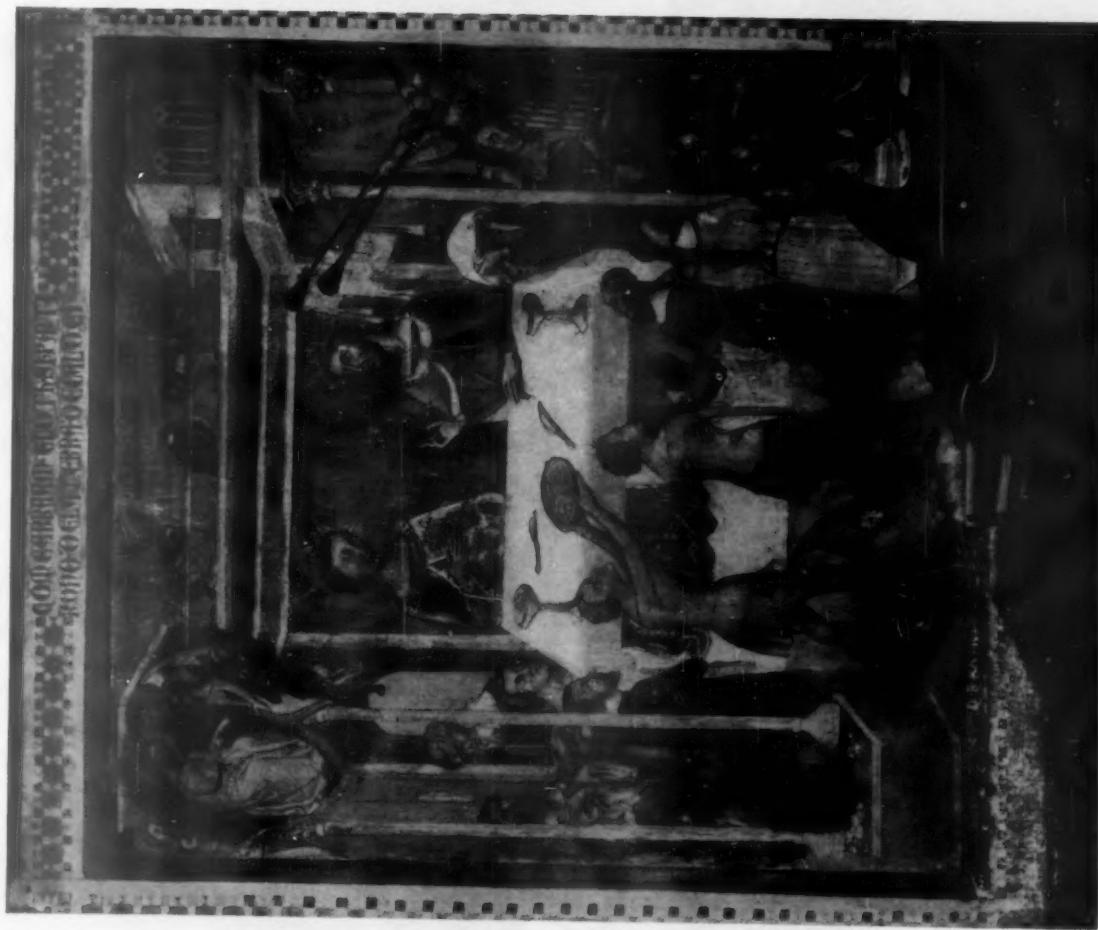


FIG. 21—San Gimignano, Collegeta: Banquet Scene, by
Bartolo di Fredi (Photo. Lombardi)

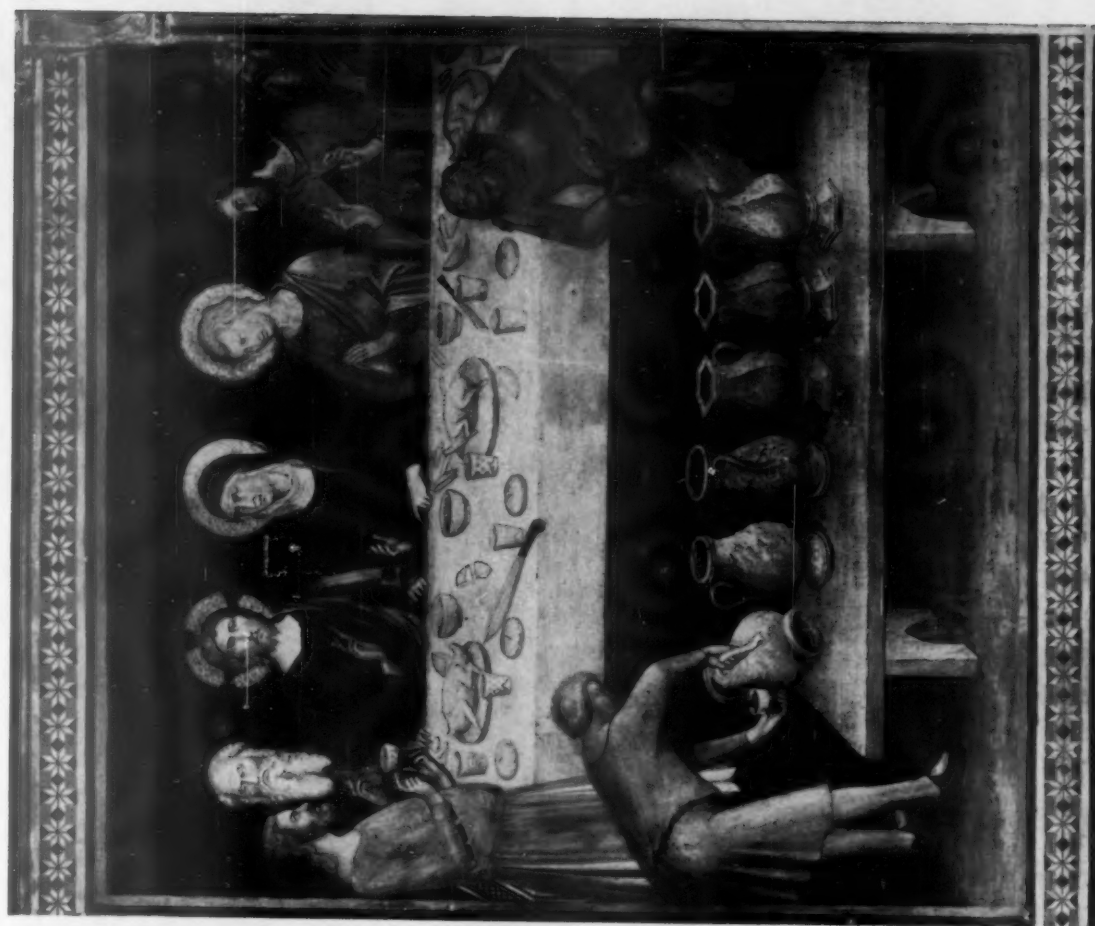


FIG. 22—San Gimignano, Collegeta: Marriage at Cana, by
Barna (Photo. Alinari)



FIG. 23—*San Gimignano, Collegiata: Presentation in the Temple, by Giovanni d'Asciano (Photo. Alinari)*



FIG. 24—*San Gimignano, Collegiata: Detail of Annunciation, by Barna (Photo. Frick Art Ref. Library)*



FIG. 25—*Paris, Louvre: Presentation in the Temple, by Bartolo di Fredi*

Duccio and Simone. Hence it is significant that they are exceptional in Barna and frequent in Giovanni d'Asciano and Bartolo di Fredi, who are both removed from Simone's temperament.⁷⁴

The braided hair which encircles the head of a woman under the gate in the Entry and of another in the Passage of the Red Sea was a current Lorenzettian motive. Like the tightly bound headdress its presence in Bartolo's work does not have to be explained by influence from across the nave. I am attracted, however, by the likeness between our "choked" lady in the Entry and her cousin in the Passage of the Red Sea whom we have already met, just behind the standing soldier. I am inclined to think Bartolo cast an admiring eye over this entertaining Entry. Considering that both scenes show processions and occupy two longitudinal spaces, was it unnatural?

We come now to several cases of a more general influence of the right wall on Bartolo. Bartolo painted an Adoration of the Magi some years after 1356. It has found a home in the Siena Academy.⁷⁵ There are many resemblances to the San Gimignano example which photographs bring out. Brandi urges that Giovanni d'Asciano, to whom he assigns the latter work, has been influenced by Bartolo.⁷⁶ Since his argument is based wholly on considerations of composition and style, the influence might just as well have been reversed. For this point it would make no difference whether Barna or his pupil painted the lunette in the Collegiata.

About contemporaneously with his Adoration Bartolo completed a Presentation (Fig. 25) which is now in the Louvre.⁷⁷ It follows Ambrogio's composition in the Uffizi very exactly, but the clothes and figures are much more like Barna's, in caricature so to speak. In a comparison with the San Gimignano lunette of this subject (Fig. 23), the stylistic character of which agrees closely with that of Giovanni d'Asciano, a similarity between the women holding scrolls will be felt, especially in the drapery and the cloth drawn close to the chin. It is of interest to know that the Louvre panel was once ascribed to Barna.⁷⁸

Bartolo's Deposition of 1382 at Montalcino includes a little panel⁷⁹ of the Baptism in the same gallery (Fig. 27). You will recall Barna's scene (Fig. 28), which except for the angels and the general style is practically reproduced. The two Baptists are no coincidence, and we can hardly suppose that Barna was so impressed with a small detail done in 1382 that he decided to make a large fresco like it. Hence Bartolo's diminutive work is an important witness to the prestige of Barna's series.

A still greater surprise awaits us, in the form of a Massacre of the Innocents once in the d'Hendecourt collection, Paris (Fig. 26). Detail for detail it repeats Barna's extraordinary and original lunette of the same subject (Fig. 11) and adds the very stage properties we should expect from a young man like Bartolo. The false polyptych shape demanded a few changes from the lunette model, but it is really remarkable how much is taken over unaltered. Unfortunately for us, the panel is neither signed nor dated, and remains therefore only an attribution. Nevertheless, there is the opinion of Perkins that Bartolo di

74. The occurrence of a veil drawn over the chin of St. Lucy in Simone's polyptych at Pisa (Weigelt, *op. cit.*, pl. 41) does not destroy my point, for here again the chief interest is in the graceful pattern of lines, and not in the rendering of form by a repetition of the same curve, after the manner of Bartolo di Fredi.

75. Van Marle, *op. cit.*, II, fig. 318.

76. Brandi, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

77. Van Marle, *op. cit.*, II, fig. 317.

78. Venturi, *Storia dell'Arte Italiana*, V, p. 740.

79. It measures 31 by 26 inches.

Fredi is its author.⁸⁰ I might add that although the model did not provide them there are two infants in this picture taken directly from the child in Ambrogio's *Madonna del Latte* (Fig. 18). This immediately recalls Bartolo's love of the motive, as we saw in the *Passage of the Red Sea* and *Moses on Sinai*. In any case, if it is agreed that the author is Bartolo the picture must be dated early in his career, because there are no parallels in the signed works of 1382 and 1388. The forms are entirely too doll-like, the psychology too childish. There is none of the breadth of feeling or the talent in arrangement, ornament, and play of fold so striking in the mature works at Montalcino and Siena.

My last comparison involves a Crucifixion, measuring $38\frac{3}{4}$ by $20\frac{1}{2}$ inches, in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (Fig. 29). Formerly attributed to Spinello Aretino, it is now catalogued as of Bartolo di Fredi on the authority of Mr. Berenson. Comparison with Barna's own Crucifixion (Fig. 30) proves what has been observed before, that it is a small-sized replica slightly padded to fit a longitudinal frame.⁸¹ The additions include the group beneath Christ's cross, the mounted soldier directly above St. John, and the flourish of rocky background. The rider just above Mary Magdalen corresponds to the one on the extreme left in Barna's fresco, as the action of the hands shows. His new posture enables him still to observe the fainting Virgin as he did in the original. Otherwise the two works correspond in every particular. This explains the occurrence, at the left, of the very rare headcloth bulging behind the ears, which was noted in Barna's Crucifixion. The New York panel, of course, lacks sincerity and force, as may be seen by comparing the two riders about to strike the thief. Again observe how much more blood has oozed from gashes on the malefactors' shins. This is further exaggerated in another Crucifixion, at Budapest.⁸² The still more faltering workmanship indicates that this one is Barna's grandchild. Our unfortunate thieves appear to wear red socks!⁸³ It would serve our point very effectively were the New York Crucifixion signed "Bartolo di Fredi," particularly as the psychology is so youthful. In the absence of signature I have naturally favored the attribution; but strictly speaking, I can find very little to sustain it beyond considerable doubt. The importance for us must be only this, that genius has its admirers.

Dr. Offner⁸⁴ makes various interesting comparisons with authentic works of Bartolo, to show that the Metropolitan panel is at least from his studio. The *Passage of the Red Sea*, for instance, offers a somewhat similar bunch of female heads (Fig. 14). But no really convincing parallel suggesting itself, Dr. Offner gives this work to Andrea di Bartolo, the only pupil we know who might have executed it. In the course of his discussion he mentions and illustrates a much smaller Crucifixion in the New York Historical Society, which is evidently Barna's great-grandchild, if ancestry may be traced thus far.

The substance of the preceding argument is that the nave walls of the Collegiata were painted at about the same time, and that Barna's work was complete before Bartolo signed his in 1356, if not before he ever began, which is much more likely. The archaeological reasons which go to show that no great time separates the two walls work both ways. I mean that just as Barna could not have worked long *after* 1356, neither could he have

80. F. M. Perkins, in *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1914, p. 97.

81. R. Offner, in *Art in America*, VII (1919), p. 152.

82. G. Von Terey, *Die Gemälde-Galerie in Budapest*, Berlin, 1916, I, p. 25.

83. The panel is attributed, not without reason, to Giovanni d' Asciano. I have no photograph good enough to compare with the *Entry into Jerusalem*, or with the *Prophets*.

84. *Op. cit.*



FIG. 26—Paris, d'Hendecourt Collection (formerly): *Massacre of the Innocents*.
attributed to Bartolo di Fredi (*Rassegna d'Arte*, 1914)



FIG. 27—Montalcino, Palazzo Municipale:
Baptism of Christ, by Bartolo di Fredi
(Photo. Frick Art Ref. Library)



FIG. 28—San Gimignano, Collegiata:
Baptism of Christ, by Barna
(Photo. Alinari)



FIG. 29—New York, Metropolitan Museum: *Crucifixion* (Photo. Met. Mus.)



FIG. 30—San Gimignano, Collegiata: *Crucifixion*, by Barna
(Photo. Alinari)

worked much *before* that time. Both series are related as decorations. We might even guess that Barna got the entire commission. Then one of two things happened. Either he assigned the left wall to Bartolo di Fredi immediately; or, more probably, he died just before completing the right wall and the authorities of the Opera and of the Arte della Lana called on Bartolo.

Just short of 1356, therefore, is a proper date for Barna's work. The point has a double importance. It anchors a genius to definite surroundings, and it opens the interesting possibility that Barna influenced the development of Sienese art after the middle of the century. This, together with the problem of Barna's earlier work and relationships I hope to take up at a later date.⁸⁵

85. It occurs to me that Vasari gives a date of 1369 for a frescoed Crucifixion "in a chapel of the Vescovado of Arezzo for Messer Guccio di Vanni Tarlati da Pietramala," and discusses the works at San Gimignano subsequently. This cannot be used to date the latter after 1369. The Crucifixion is in the Cathedral, not the Bishop's Palace. It bears no noticeable resemblance to the style of Barna. Moreover, del Vita (*Il Duomo d'Arezzo*, Milan, no date, p. 58) tells us that the kneeling donor in this work was disfigured by the daggers of his enemies in 1343, when the Tarlati were expelled! (Illustration in Van Marle, *op. cit.*, II, fig. 198.) The reason why Vasari discusses this Crucifixion before taking up the series at San Gimignano is, of course, that he believed the

latter was Barna's last work since he died during its progress.

A statement in Prof. G. H. Edgell's *A History of Sienese Painting*, New York, 1932, p. 159, that Barna's name "appears again in 1355 and 1357" is a mistake. The citation is from Milanesi (*op. cit.*, I, p. 28), who is referring not to Barna but to Luca di Tommè, although admittedly the passage is slightly ambiguous. It does not make sense, however, if "egli . . . era pittore" does not refer to Luca.

I wish to express my deep gratitude to Professors Frank Jewett Mather, Jr., and Charles Rufus Morey of Princeton University for their kind help and advice in the preparation of this article.

THE DESTROYED ROMANESQUE CHURCH OF SANTO DOMINGO DE SILOS

BY WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL, JR.

THE cloisters of Santo Domingo de Silos have long been the battleground of conflicting archaeological theories. The community living there under the Rule of St. Benedict was dissolved in 1835 by Mendizabal's exlaustation decree, and for forty-five years the monastic buildings were deserted. In 1880, however, just at the beginning of the process of disintegration, which has reduced Sahagún, Arlanza, and so many other Spanish monasteries to hopeless ruins, Benedictines of the congregation of Solesmes, driven from France, were allowed to settle in Silos. By immediate and drastic repairs they saved the monument from destruction, and one of their number, Dom Marius Férotin, made the historical importance of the monastery known by the publication of his *Histoire de l' Abbaye de Silos* and *Recueil des chartes de l' Abbaye de Silos*.¹

To the late Emile Bertaux belongs the honor of having first called general attention to the artistic importance of the sculptures of the lower cloister.² On the abacus of a group of four capitals in the north gallery of the cloister (Fig. 17) is carved the epitaph of the great abbot, Santo Domingo, who died in 1073. The body of the saint was moved into the church in 1076,³ but the epitaph remained. M. Bertaux recognized the inevitable consequence, that the capitals with the inscription must date between 1073 and 1076. All the capitals of the east gallery and the majority of those of the north gallery are the work of the same sculptor, so in order to account for this phenomenally early date M. Bertaux was obliged to resort to the hypothesis of Moorish workmen.⁴ However, he assigned the pier reliefs⁵ of the Ascension, Pentecost, the Maries at the Tomb, the Descent from the Cross, the Journey to Emmaus, and the Incredulity of St. Thomas to the middle of the twelfth century.

1. Paris, Leroux, 1897. Subsequently referred to as Férotin, *Histoire*, and Férotin, *Recueil*.

2. *La Sculpture chrétienne en Espagne des origines au XIV^e siècle*, in André Michel, *Histoire de l' art*, Paris, Colin, 1906, II, i, pp. 223-228. M. Bertaux visited Silos thirty years ago, before the construction of the present carriage road, which makes the trip out from Burgos a simple matter of fifty-seven kilometers. When he visited the monastery, situated as it is in a remote and practically enclosed valley, the journey presented great difficulties.

3. *Hac tumba tegitur. diua qui luce beatur
Dictus Dominicus. nomine conspicuus.
Orbi quem speculum Christus concessit honestum.
Exhortando bonos. corripiendo malos.*

*Solsticium mundo dum dat brumalis origo
Subtrahitur mundo. iungitur et domino.
Protegit hic plebes. sibi fida mente fideles.
Nuncque tuendo suos. post trahat ad superos.*

The full epitaph is found at the end of Book I of the monk Grimualdo's life of Santo Domingo (cf. note 10), but for want of space only part of it was carved on the abacus. Cf. A. Kingsley Porter, *Spanish Romanesque Sculpture*, New York, Harcourt Brace, 1929, I, p. 75. For the translation of the body of the saint, cf. Férotin, *Histoire*, p. 63.

4. Bertaux, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

5. Excellently reproduced in Porter, *op. cit.*, I, pls. 35-40.

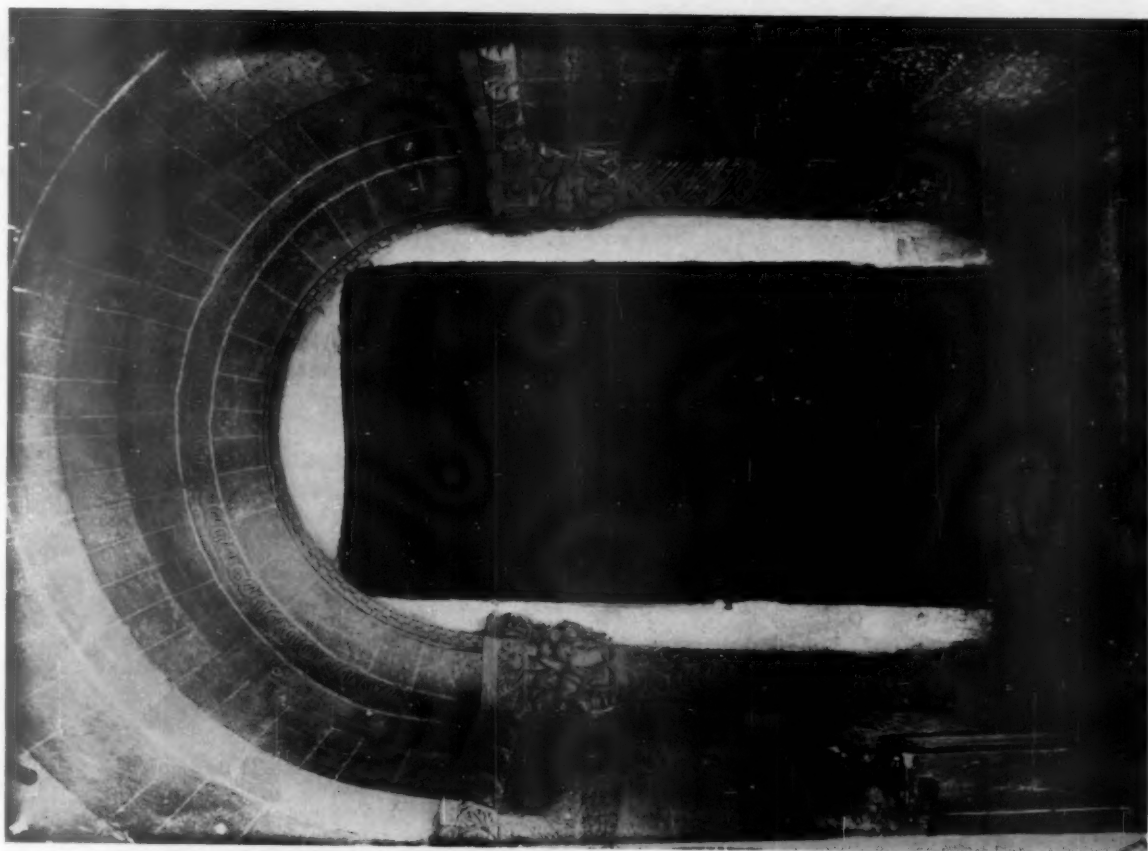


FIG. 1—Santo Domingo de Silos (Burgos): Puerta de las Virgenes



FIG. 2—Santo Domingo de Silos (Burgos): Northeast Angle of Lower Cloister

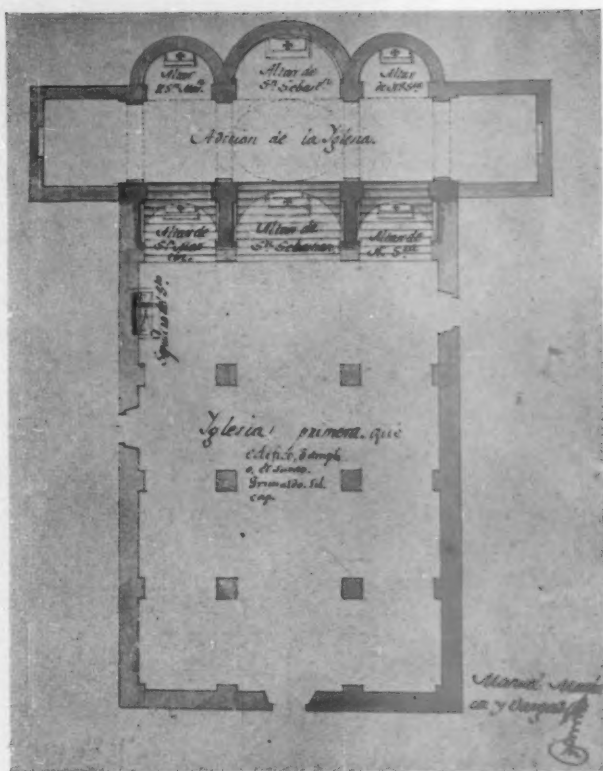


FIG. 3—Santo Domingo de Silos (Burgos)
Archives: Eighteenth Century Plan showing
Pre-Romanesque Apses discovered
in 1767

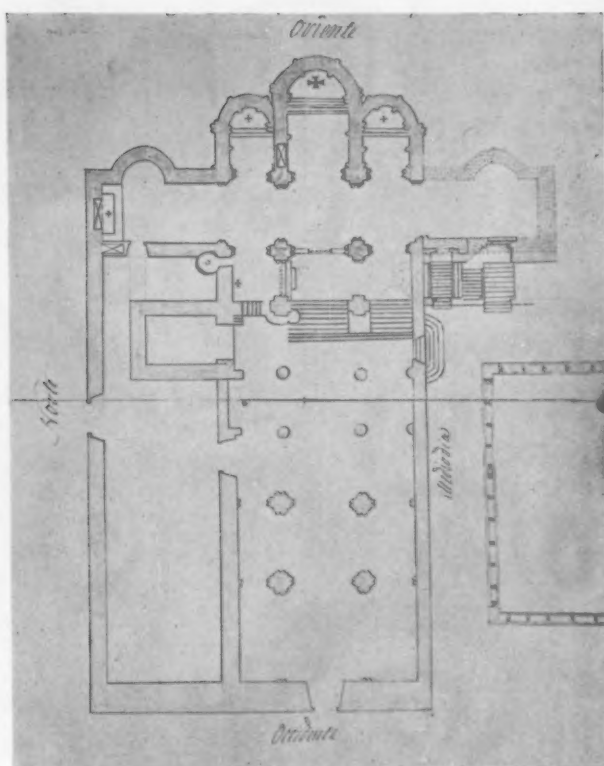


FIG. 4—Santo Domingo de Silos (Burgos)
Archives: Planta Iconográfica de la Iglesia
de Sto. Domingo de Silos antigua
XVIII-XIX Century



FIG. 5.—Santo Domingo de Silos
(Burgos): Horseshoe Arch of
Puerta de las Virgines

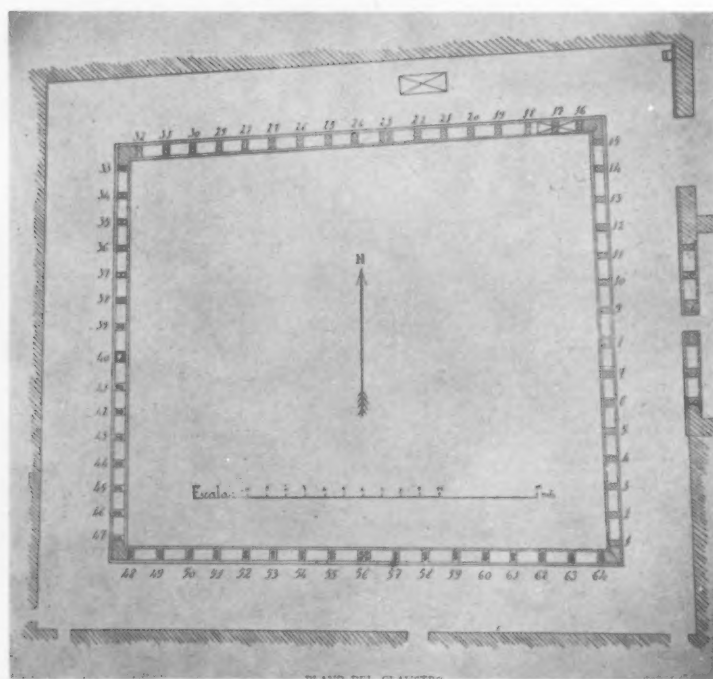


FIG. 6—Santo Domingo de Silos (Burgos):
Plan of Cloister (from R. P. Justo Pérez
de Urbel, *El Claustro de Silos*)

In 1923 Professor A. Kingsley Porter pointed out that the pier reliefs are clearly the work of the sculptor of the capitals, and brought forth a mass of evidence to show that their style is not inconsistent with an eleventh century date.⁶ M. Paul Deschamps replied vehemently.⁷ Other roads being closed, he attacked the epitaph, and attempted to prove that the form of certain letters was inconsistent with a 1073 date. This discussion of epigraphy continued for some years, but Mr. Porter's discovery of the 1072 Iguácel inscription and other monuments cited in his *Spanish Romanesque Sculpture* seem to have proved the authenticity of Santo Domingo's epitaph.⁸

Although this discussion has made it possible to accept an eleventh century date for the pier reliefs and the earliest capitals (Figs. 13, 14, 15, 17), the sculptures of the cloister have not been completely studied, for the works of a second (Fig. 18) and a third artist (Fig. 19) in the west and south galleries have received very little consideration. The recent book by R. P. Justo Pérez de Urbel, one of the Silos monks, is the first to reproduce all the capitals.⁹

A contemporary life of Santo Domingo by the monk Grimualdo¹⁰ makes it clear that the saint was responsible for the construction not only of the cloister but also of a Romanesque church of considerable importance. Born about the year 1000 in the village of Cañas in the Rioja, Santo Domingo entered the monastery of S. Millán de la Cogolla as a young man. After rising to the dignity of Novice Master, he was given the difficult task of restoring the priory of Santa Maria de Cañas, which was falling into ruins. He restored the church, and thanks to his labors the house was repopled with numerous disciples, among them his father and brothers. His fame spread *etiam ad exterar et longe positas regiones*,¹¹ and after four years he was recalled to S. Millán and made prior of the monastery. Political conflicts

6. Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, Boston, Marshall Jones, 1923, I, pp. 44-57.

7. Paul Deschamps, *Notes sur la sculpture romane en Languedoc et dans le Nord de l'Espagne*, in *Bulletin monumental*, LXXXII (1923), pp. 339-350.

8. Porter, *Spain or Toulouse? and Other Questions*, in *Art Bulletin*, VII, 1924, pp. 21-23; *Iguácel and more Romanesque Art of Aragón*, in *Burlington Magazine*, LII, 1928, pp. 111-127; *Spanish Romanesque Sculpture*, I, pp. 77, 128-131. Meyer Schapiro in his review of Deschamps' recent *Étude sur la paléographie des inscriptions lapidaires* in *Art Bulletin*, XII, 1930, pp. 101-109, brings forward still more evidence.

The recent articles by Baron Verhaegen, *Le Cloître de Silos*, in *Gazette des beaux-arts*, VI (1931), pp. 129-147, 193-222 throw very little new light on the question. After an excellent description of the cloister and a summary of the arguments for the early dating, he says: *Le problème soulevé à propos de Silos est d'importance. C'est toute la thèse française de l'évolution de la sculpture romane mise à néant. . . . D'autre part, la thèse de la primauté de l'art médiéval français sur l'art espagnol—primauté inscrite, semblait-il, sur les murs des édifices comme sur les pages de l'histoire—se trouve également ruinée par la base.* For this and other classic reasons Baron Verhaegen pushes the dating of the cloister forward into the twelfth century. As M. Georges Gaillard's *L'Église et le Cloître de*

Silos has appeared in the *Bulletin Monumental*, XCI, 1932, pp. 39-80, since my article was sent to press I am unable to comment on it in detail. M. Gaillard and I are in complete agreement on the order of construction, but part company on the dating. Schapiro has in preparation an extensive and most interesting study of the style of the Silos sculptures and the epigraphy.

9. *El Claustro de Silos*, Burgos, Aldecoa, 1930. Although a work of general interest rather than of controversy, it is invaluable because of its wealth of descriptive material and reproductions.

10. This life of Santo Domingo by Grimualdo, written in the last years of the eleventh century, is published only in an unfortunately rare book by Sebastián de Vergara, Abbot of Silos (1723-1725), *Vida y Milagros de el Thaumaturgo Español, Moyses Segundo, Redentor de Cautivos, Abogado de los Felices Partos, Santo Domingo Manso, Abad Benedictino, Reparador de el Real Monasterio de Silos*, Madrid, 1736. For the manuscripts of Grimualdo, see Alfonso Andrés, *Notable Manuscrito de los Tres Primeros Hagiógrafos de Santo Domingo de Silos*, in *Boletín de la Real Academia Española*, IV, 1917, pp. 172-194, 445-458. In the thirteenth century Gonzalo de Berceo turned Grimualdo's life into Castilian verse: cf. John D. Fitzgerald, ed., *La Vida de Santo Domingo de Silos par Gonzalo de Berceo*, Paris, 1904, fasc. 149 of *Bibliothèque des Hautes Etudes, Sciences Historiques et Philologiques*.

11. Grimualdo, *Vita*, i, 5, in Vergara, *op. cit.*, p. 334.

with the king of Navarre forced him about the year 1040 to take refuge in Burgos, where he was received with honor by Fernando the Great, King of Castile and León. Moorish invasions and internal disorders had combined to reduce the monastery of S. Sebastián de Silos to a deplorable state,¹² and Fernando saw in Santo Domingo a person providentially sent to carry out the restoration which he contemplated. Appointed abbot, the saint arrived at Silos on January 24, 1031.¹³ *Cum totius congregationis acclamatione* he set himself to the double task of increasing the spiritual vitality of the community and restoring the material edifice of the monastery. He was fortified in his purpose by a vision, which he communicated to Grimualdo.¹⁴ The saint found himself standing by a river, spanned by a narrow bridge of crystal, at the end of which stood two angels, one holding in his hand two golden crowns, and the other a single jewel-studded crown of even greater magnificence and beauty. The angels called to the saint to cross the bridge, and after he had passed safely over told him that the first crown was sent to him by the Lord for the holiness of his life and the perfection with which he followed the precepts of Christ, the second crown for his restoration of the church of Santa Maria de Cañas, and the third crown, even more precious than the others, *pro cenobio Exiliense quod es a fundamento edificaturus et ad pristinum decorem reducturus et pro populo quem in eo Deo es adquisiturus*. Thus strengthened, Santo Domingo pursued the difficult task which he had undertaken. *Quam decenter monasterium sibi commissum, pene omni re necessaria destitutum spoliatumque restaurauerit; quam eleganter ecclesiam et omnia monasterii habitacula pene uetustate consumpta ac semiruta, cum nimio labore grauique angustia . . . reedificauerit, et pristino melioratoque decori restituerit . . . pretermisimus, uel quia manifeste habetur pre oculis, uel quia deuitamus prolixè fastidium lectionis*.¹⁵

The church which Santo Domingo rebuilt served the monastery until the middle of the eighteenth century, when it was pulled down to make place for the present classical building by Ventura Rodríguez.¹⁶ As this church covers a somewhat different area from that of the Romanesque one, Santo Domingo's south transept is still standing, though greatly altered. A lower modern vault has been inserted, but above this may be seen the remains of the original barrel vault. A window, high up in the south wall, decorated with two sculptured capitals¹⁷ (Figs. 7, 8), has also been preserved. The most striking feature is the

12. If we accept a doubtful tradition, the monastery was at this time already about 450 years old, for the Visigothic king, Reccared, was claimed as its founder; however this may be, we are certain that it had been founded by the beginning of the tenth century, for the earliest extant document of historical consequence is a donation of Fernan González, dated June 3, 919 (Férotin, *Recueil*, pp. 1-4) that clearly indicates its existence.

13. Grimualdo, *Vita*, i, 6, in Vergara, *op. cit.*, pp. 343-344. The exact date is not given by Grimualdo, but it is plausibly worked out by Férotin, *Histoire*, pp. 38-39.

14. Grimualdo, *Vita*, i, 7, in Vergara, *op. cit.*, pp. 345-347.

15. Grimualdo, *Vita*, i, 21, in Vergara, *op. cit.*, pp. 365-366.

16. The half century occupied in its construction and the shortage of funds which prevented the building of the dome, which was to have completed the church, saved the

saint's cloister from a similar fate. The present octagonal chapel of Santo Domingo, opening from the south transept was finished in 1732 by Abbot Baltazar Diaz and the saint's body was suitably translated there. The western end of the nave was in bad repair, although the apses, transepts, and crossing were still structurally sound. D. Ventura Rodríguez, the king's architect, advised total demolition and the construction of a new church more to the taste of the time. His advice was taken, and negotiations opened in 1751, although the new building was not consecrated until October 20, 1816. The original plans and elevation, never completely carried out, are preserved in the Silos archives.

17. I owe these photographs to R. P. Saturio González of Silos. These capitals, at present so hidden that to see them is difficult and to photograph them almost miraculous, prove that the sculptures of the upper church were of the style of the Puerta de las Virgenes rather than that of the cloister.



FIG. 7
Santo Domingo de Silos (Burgos): Capitals of South Transept Window



FIG. 8
Santo Domingo de Silos (Burgos): Capitals of South Transept Window



FIG. 9—Santo Domingo de Silos (Burgos): East Gallery of
Lower Cloister

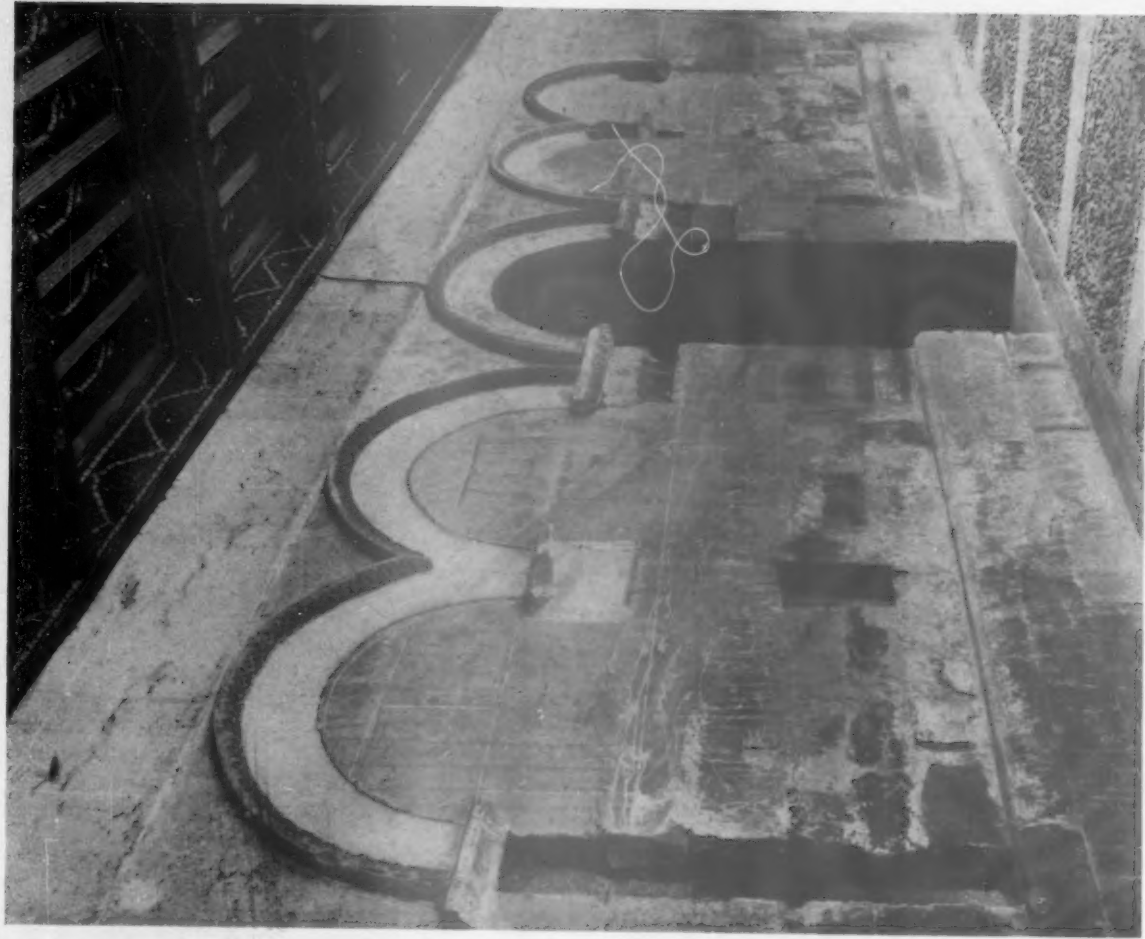


FIG. 10—Santo Domingo de Silos (Burgos): Chapter House
Arcade

Puerta de las Virgines (Fig. 1), the portal by which one enters the transept from the lower cloister. This portal is decorated with sculptured capitals of a bizarre, unnaturalistic style, reminiscent of Mozarabic art.¹⁸ Moreover, within its inner arch is a horseshoe arch, concealed by the present modern door, but an integral part of the original structure¹⁹ (Fig. 5). These capitals are of a style entirely different from that of the sophisticated and accomplished lower cloister, but Professor Porter has recognized their relationship to the sculptures of the Panteón of S. Isidoro de León, which are before 1065.²⁰ Between the two groups of sculptures one feels a similarity of time and spirit rather than an exact repetition of detail, yet the relationship is none the less clear. These works are so much inferior in conception and execution to the capitals and pier reliefs of the cloister that it seems certain that they were made before Santo Domingo found his cloister sculptors. With the cloister already built it would have been difficult to countenance the Puerta de las Virgines.²¹ Besides the difference in the style of the sculptures, two practical considerations make it seem probable that the Puerta de las Virgines is earlier than the cloister. In a monastery a cloister is a luxury and a church is a necessity. When Santo Domingo arrived in 1041 Silos was in a sorry state. With the growth of the community under his guidance it is natural to suppose that the rebuilding and enlarging of the church would be the most important consideration, and that such frills as elaborately sculptured cloisters would be left until essentials had been completed. Another fact tending to confirm the belief that this part of the church was completed before work was undertaken on the cloister is the position of the Puerta de las Virgines. At present the portal is almost completely blocked from view, as the level of its base is half way between the floor levels of the lower and upper cloisters. It is approached by a broad stairway leading up from the lower cloister (Fig. 2) and by a narrow flight coming down from the upper cloister,²² but no satisfactory view can be obtained of it from any angle. It seems unlikely that so large a portal would have been built with the expectation of never being properly seen. When the space now occupied by the cloister was an open courtyard it must have been very impressive, but when Santo Domingo discovered the far superior artists of the lower cloister he did not hesitate to block it up in order to give freer scope to their activity. It is easier to explain the blocking of an existing portal by work of a very superior

18. The Puerta de las Virgines has been sadly mutilated. The rebuilding of the stairway leading up from the lower cloister, and the construction of the adjacent Gothic chapel of S. Juan have resulted in the destruction of one of the columns and the mutilation of two of the capitals. Because of the extreme narrowness of the space in front of the portal photography is difficult, and only two of the four capitals appear in Fig. 1: I owe this photograph also to the kindness of Padre González.

19. Since the photograph of Fig. 5 was taken the modern plaster has been chipped away, revealing the original masonry of the horseshoe arch. It is hoped that in a short time the modern door will be moved inside, so as to make the arch visible from the cloister and restore the original effect of the portal.

20. Porter, *Spanish Romanesque Sculpture*, I, p. 77. It is interesting to note that Santo Domingo was present at the consecration of S. Isidoro de León on December 22,

1063, when the relics of the great doctor of Seville were translated to their final resting place. *Aderat tunc huic celeberrimae solemnitati vir uenerabilis Dominicus, abbas monasterii de Silos, cuius sanctitatis gratiarum efferebatur a cunctis.* Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, LXXXI, col. 954.

21. Deschamps, *op. cit.*, p. 343, testifies that the capitals of the Puerta are *d' un style beaucoup plus archaïque que ceux des galeries du cloître.*

22. Until 1560 (cf. Férotin, *Histoire*, p. 351) a pair of arches opened from the east gallery of the lower cloister into the stairway leading to the Puerta de las Virgines, but when the flight leading down from the upper cloister was built the present disposition of a single arch became necessary. Traces of the other arch may be seen in the masonry to the north of the present opening. Even with the original double arch, however, no very satisfactory view of the portal could have been possible.

character than the construction of such a doorway in the cramped space it now occupies. Consequently it seems probable that the first architectural work of Santo Domingo was, as one would naturally expect in order of importance, the reconstruction and enlarging of the church.

Unfortunately there are no elevations of the church in existence, but two plans preserved in the Silos archives give a tolerable idea of the general disposition of the building. The first of these (Fig. 3) must have been made after 1767, as it shows the foundations of three early apses, two of which were discovered in that year.²³ This plan, which reduces all details to classical symmetry, represents not a finished ground plan of the church, but a diagram made to show the position of the apse foundations discovered during its demolition. The second plan (Fig. 4)²⁴ was found in 1885 by Dom Férotin among the papers of P. Rodrigo Echevarria²⁵ in the Episcopal Archives at Segovia. The shading of the south transept, which exists at the present time, and the adjective *antigua* in the caption would indicate that the plan was drawn after the completion of the new church.²⁶ Much more detailed and convincing than the first plan, it shows a number of striking variations. In the nave there are two different types of construction: the two western bays have compound piers, while the eastern bays have round columns. The steps leading to the upper church are found only at the ends of the nave and south aisle, while there is an additional bay in the upper church between the steps and the crossing. There are apsidioles in the eastern walls of the north and south transepts, and the three apses are much deeper. The cloister on the south, and a sort of porch along the north wall are indicated.

There are, in addition to the plans, old descriptions of the church, which, although of slight value for the study of the chronology of the building, are important records of its condition in the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. Gerónimo de Nebreda, Abbot of Silos (1572-1578), wrote a work on the history of the place entitled *De el monasterio de Santo Domingo, sus principios y sucesos*. The original text is lost, but a copy is preserved in the collection of historical notes written in 1648 by P. Juan de Cisneros, Archivist of the Congregation of San Benito de Valladolid.²⁷ Another source important for the architectural history of the monastery is the unpublished *Memoriae Silenses*, preserved in the Silos archives. In part two of the first volume P. Baltazar Diaz,²⁸ who carried the chronicle up to 1774, gave a fairly extensive description of the Romanesque church. He knew the building in its last days, and so his testimony as an eye-witness is valuable, although his archaeological flights in dating parts of it must be considerably discounted.

23. *Memoriae Silenses* (unpublished manuscript in the Silos archives), I, fol. 132. The plan, which measures 245 x 185 mm., is executed in china and carmen ink. It is signed *Manuel Machuca y Vargas*.

24. This plan, with the caption *Planta Iconográfica de la Iglesia de Sto. Domingo de Silos, antigua*, measures 456 x 291 mm.

25. Abbot of Silos from 1832 until the dissolution of the monastery in 1835; Bishop of Segovia from 1857 to 1875.

26. R. P. Isaac Toribios has noticed that the watermark of the paper is the same as that on which P. Echevarria wrote various notes, and that the caption is written in his hand. It is likely that the plan was drawn

from the description of the church in the *Memoriae Silenses*, an hypothesis strengthened by the fact that the plan is somewhat deficient in its representation of the nave of the lower church, the part of the building in which the manuscript description is most confused. P. Diaz refers to a plan of the church (*Memoriae Silenses*, I, fol. 110 and fol. 120), and it seems possible that this may be a copy of the one to which he refers.

27. *Registro de archivos, fundaciones de monasterios y otras noticias*. Foll. 73-96 relate to Santo Domingo de Silos. Férotin published foll. 73-75 in his *Histoire*, pp. 358-361.

28. Abbot of Silos, 1729-1733; 1749-1753; 1765-1769. The most important texts of the *Memoriae Silenses* are for the first time published in the Appendix to this article.

On the basis of this documentary evidence several studies of the architecture of the destroyed church have been made, the earliest being Dom Férotin's.²⁹ He believed that the second plan (Fig. 4) dated from the demolition of the church, and caused it to be used in 1888 by Dom Jules Mellet as the basis for his *Plan des principaux édifices de l' Abbaye de Silos au XII^e siècle*.³⁰ His description, full of valuable minor documentary sources, is of the monastery in the twelfth century, and avoids any thorough discussion of the relative dates of the several parts of the building. Due to a misreading of Nebreda's text, he believed that the church was surmounted not by one but by three domes, a theory not borne out either by the Silos documents or by Spanish Romanesque architectural usage.³¹

Lampérez³² gave a short account of the monastery, and reproduced from Férotin Dom Mellet's redrawing of Fig. 4, believing it to be the work of the sixteenth century abbot Nebreda. He followed Férotin in assuming that there were three domes, although he noted that it was an unusual thing and must have resulted from strong Byzantine influence.³³ He attributed the upper church and the two westernmost bays of the lower church to Santo Domingo.

In 1908 Dom Roulin published in the *Revue de l' art chrétien* an article in two parts, *Les églises de l' Abbaye de Silos*.³⁴ Although admitting that Santo Domingo began the reconstruction of an earlier church, he assigned the greater part of the upper church, which he believed had three domes, to the first quarter of the twelfth century, in order to secure a reasonable agreement with the orthodox French archaeological theory.

Miss King, in order to solve the unprecedented difficulty of the three domes, suggested that two of them were probably ciboria, like those which flank the apse of San Juan de Duero in Soria.³⁵ It is unfortunate that this hypothesis cannot be accepted,³⁶ for the motive is of great beauty and originality.

The most recent study of the church has been made by R. P. Isaac Toribios and R. P. Román Saiz, monks of Silos.³⁷ Their work, although not entirely completed and as yet unpublished, has been summarized in the *Enciclopedia Espasa*,³⁸ so that their conclusions

29. *Histoire*, pp. 346-361.

30. *Ibid.*, pp. 346-347.

31. In the *Memoriae Silenses*, I, fol. 107, P. Diaz thus describes the central dome: *in primo et medio supra arcus formata fornix seu tholum, vulgo media-naranja*. Nebreda in speaking of the dome did not use this term, but did apply it to the semicircular apsidioles of the north and south transepts. *Al lado de la Epistola tiene una capilla de Nuestra Señora, y adelante en una media naranja un altar llamado de las Virgenes benditas . . . De la parte del Evangelio ay una capilla dedicada a San Martín . . . Adelante, en el mismo, está una media naranja que responde a la de el otro lado, en la qual huvo altar y vocation de San Nicolas*. It is perfectly clear, especially as the dedications of the altars agree, that here *media naranja* refers to the apsidioles of the south and north transepts, and not to two subsidiary domes, as Férotin believed. This whole misconception of three domes rests only on the misreading of these two texts, but it has been uncritically repeated and repeated until it has become common belief.

32. Vicente Lampérez y Romea, *Historia de la arquitectura cristiana española en la edad media*, 2nd ed., Madrid, Espasa-Calpe, 1930, II, pp. 372-376.

33. Cf. Lampérez y Romea, *El bizantinismo en la arquitectura cristiana española*, Madrid, 1900, pp. 23-24.

34. *Revue de l' art chrétien*, LVIII, 1908, pp. 289-299, 371-379.

35. Georgiana Goddard King, *The Problem of the Duero*, in *Art Studies*, III, 1925, p. 5. The attributions of the material for the reconstruction of the Silos church are reversed: actually, the analogy to Salamanca was made by Nebreda (Férotin, *Histoire*, p. 359) and the plan is the work of the last abbot of Silos (cf. note 26).

36. Cf. note 31.

37. *San Sebastián de Silos: estudio de nuestra antigua iglesia*. I am greatly indebted to Padre Toribios and Padre Saiz for allowing me to study their manuscript in detail, and for much help in examining the documents in the Silos archives which relate to the destroyed church.

M. Gaillard's *L'Église et le Cloître de Silos* appeared while this article was in press, so cannot be discussed here, although it deals with the dating of the church.

38. *Enciclopedia universal ilustrada europeo-americana*, Bilbao, Espasa-Calpe, 1927, LIV, pp. 377-393.

are partially available. According to their plan of the monastery in the twelfth century, the eastern bays of the lower church are anterior to Santo Domingo, the western bays of the lower church are his work, while the whole of the upper church and the north porch are later than 1088. Although the authors have made a long and careful study of the material, their chronology is difficult to reconcile with the one existing portion of the Romanesque church, the south transept, as it places the Puerta de las Virgenes (Fig. 1) at the very end of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century.

Up to the present time, the cloister has been studied without relation to the church, and the church without relation to the cloister. By considering them together, internal evidence makes possible a more detailed dating of both. Consequently, I propose to describe briefly the church and cloister in a hypothetical order of construction.

From the plans of the church (Figs. 3, 4) it is clear that the building was not the result of one period of construction. *Tres fabricae diuersae architecturae in ea notantur*, the *Memoriae Silenses* explicitly state.³⁹ *Es de tres naves y edificado en diversos tiempos*, according to Nebreda.⁴⁰ Grimualdo tells us that Santo Domingo *reedificauerit* and *restituerit* the church. Fig. 4 shows two periods of construction in the nave of the lower church, and the upper church with its dome is the result of a third.⁴¹

Santo Domingo did not begin a completely new building: Grimualdo explicitly says that he *rebuilt* and *restored* the church. It is clear that if, on his arrival at Silos in 1041, the church was in serious need of repairs, the building which he reconstructed must have been of the pre-Romanesque period.⁴² This church, which in the plan forms the three eastern bays of the lower church, was a three aisled building, three bays in length. According to the *Memoriae Silenses* it was supported by *crasissimis columnis, quae capiteliis ordinis Ionici constant*,⁴³ a fact confirmed by the round columns shown on the plan. A capital (Fig. 21) preserved in the museum of the monastery has generally been supposed to have come from this part of the destroyed church, although there is no proof of its provenance.⁴⁴ In its general proportions the church may well have been similar to S. Salvador de Val-de-Dios (Oviedo), with clerestory windows, although there is no way of determining whether it was vaulted or roofed in wood.⁴⁵

39. I, fol. 105 verso.

40. Férotin, *Histoire*, p. 359.

41. Difference in floor level, owing to the sloping ground on which the church is built, led to the general use of the terms *upper church* and *lower church* to designate the eastern and western ends.

42. Nebreda, writing in the sixteenth century, shows that the tradition of the monastery assumed part of the church to be anterior to the time of Santo Domingo: cf. Férotin, *Histoire*, pp. 358-359.

43. Fol. 118.

44. Although it has no exact counterpart in the sculptures of Visigothic and Mozarabic churches, the capital has generally passed as pre-Romanesque. D. Manuel Gómez-Moreno, however, assigns it to the twelfth century. It is, in any event, quite unrelated to the other sculptures at Silos, and the principal basis for its identification with the lower church has been the possibility of its volute-like decoration suggesting to the author of the *Memoriae Silenses* the Ionic order. As it is sculptured only on three sides, it could only have been used with one of the engaged columns of the side aisles (cf. Fig. 4).

45. Lampérez, *Historia de la arquitectura cristiana española*, I, pp. 357-360; Manuel Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes*, Madrid, Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1919, pp. 76-81; Georgiana Goddard King, *Pre-Romanesque Churches of Spain*, New York, Longmans Green, 1924, pp. 123-127. The nave of the lower church was very narrow—the *Memoriae Silenses* gives the diameter of the central apse as fourteen feet—and as height and narrowness characterize the proportions of Val-de-Dios the analogy seems possible. Two vaulted bays were added to the western end of the lower church of Silos, probably in the course of the twelfth century. The building was used for six hundred years afterward, apparently without any particular sense of architectural incongruity. As this was avoided, the older part of the church must have been rather high. There is no definite statement about the roof. Nebreda, describing in the sixteenth century the chapel of Santo Domingo in the north aisle, says *la cubierta de esta capilla es de artesones dorados* (Férotin, *Histoire*, p. 360), but this is not sufficient evidence to assume that the lower church was roofed in wood.



FIG. 11—*Santo Domingo de Silos (Burgos): Columns in East Gallery of Lower Cloister*



FIG. 12—*Santo Domingo de Silos (Burgos): North Gallery of Lower Cloister*



Fig. 12—Santo Domingo de Silos (Burgos): Capital 12 of East Gallery of Lower Cloister (Capital and Abacus by First Sculptor)



Fig. 13—Santo Domingo de Silos (Burgos): Capital 13 of East Gallery of Lower Cloister (Capital and Abacus by First Sculptor)



Fig. 15—Santo Domingo de Silos (Burgos): Capital 6 of East Gallery of Lower Cloister (Capital and Abacus by First Sculptor)



Fig. 16—Santo Domingo de Silos (Burgos): Capital 30 of North Gallery of Lower Cloister (Capital by First Sculptor, Abacus by Second)

The nave and side aisles terminated in three semicircular apses, the central one dedicated to S. Sebastián,⁴⁶ the north to S. Martín, and the south to the Virgin. Whether the apses were sunk into a solid east wall or could be distinguished on the exterior is not clear. In 1767, when the site was being cleared for the building of the present church, the foundations of the central and southern apses were discovered. The central apse, naturally the larger of the two, measured fourteen feet, and contained a free-standing altar, nine feet long and three feet wide, the top of which was formed by four stones. It was naturally supposed that a third apse, terminating the north aisle, existed, although it was not actually discovered until 1791 or 1792.⁴⁷ This apse, similar to that of the south aisle, contained an altar, and behind the altar the tomb of some holy person.⁴⁸

North of the easternmost bay of the church was a great square tower, the base of which served as a sacristy.⁴⁹ Férotin believed that it was built during the tenth century reconstruction of Fernan González as a place of refuge during Moorish invasions.⁵⁰ The tower was demolished in 1752.

There are, unfortunately, no documents to establish the date of this first church. In 1041 it was already in need of repairs, and, as the years immediately preceding the arrival of Santo Domingo were not sufficiently prosperous to allow architectural activity, it was certainly built not later than the end of the tenth century. Possibly it dated from the donation made by Fernan González in 919.⁵¹ A reasonable stylistic analogy is furnished by S. Salvador de Val-de-Dios (Oviedo), consecrated in 893,⁵² although there the apses are rectangular; S. Miguel de Escalada (León), consecrated in 913,⁵³ has three apses of somewhat more than a semicircle in plan. The fact of a pre-Romanesque church at Silos is certain, but, lacking more specific data both for the history of the monastery and of the church, the building must be conjecturally assigned to the early years of the tenth century.

Santo Domingo, after he had strengthened the spiritual vitality of the monastery, undertook the rebuilding and enlargement of this church. The work was ambitious, for not only did the saint repair the existing building but also built to the east of it an addition in the latest style, far more extensive and impressive than the original church. Because of the natural slope of the ground from east to west this addition had a higher floor level, and was consequently known as the upper church: the solid rock formation to the east of the pre-Romanesque church made equality of floor levels impossible without a great deal of difficult excavation.

46. S. Sebastián was the original patron of the monastery, but he was superseded by Santo Domingo not long after the abbot's death. The oldest document with the new dedication is a privilege of Alfonso VI, dated August 20, 1076 (Férotin, *Recueil*, p. 24).

47. The account of the discovery of the northern apse is given in a supplementary note in Spanish, added to the first volume of the *Memoriae Silenses* (fol. 276 verso). Cf. Appendix.

48. Possibly Licinianus, the aged monk who had celebrated the mass the day of Santo Domingo's arrival at Silos in 1041 (Férotin, *Histoire*, p. 40).

49. *In pariete vero boreali prope iam dictum parietem diuisorum utriusque ecclesiae in arcu inter sepulchrum P. N. Dominici, et memoratum murum diuisorium erat porta sacristiae primitivae ecclesiae Sancti Sebastiani, supra cuius muros erectum fuit campanarium satis altum in modo castelli, cylindris, seu parvis columnis ad angulos, aliisque ornamentis terminatum. Memoriae Silenses, I, fol. 118.*

50. Férotin, *Histoire*, p. 353.

51. Cf. note 12.

52. Cf. note 45.

53. Lampérez, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 256-259; Gómez-Moreno, *op. cit.*, pp. 141-162; King, *op. cit.*, pp. 158-167.

The plan (Fig. 4) and the text of the *Memoriae Silenses*⁵⁴ make it clear that the upper church was a building of three aisles, which corresponded exactly in position to the aisles of the lower church. In order to make the difference in levels in the two parts of the building less striking, Santo Domingo raised the pavement of the lower church six feet. This fact came to light during the destruction of the building in the eighteenth century, when a pavement six feet below the level of the lower church, *de quo nulla memoria*, was discovered.⁵⁵ The pavement must have been raised before 1076 at the latest, for in that year the body of Santo Domingo was translated from the cloister to the chapel in the north aisle of the lower church, where it remained until 1733. As there is no evidence that this chapel was disturbed in the six and a half centuries that it contained the relics of the saint, the raising of the pavement must have been accomplished before the translation.⁵⁶ The portal of S. Miguel, which led from the easternmost bay of the south aisle of the lower church into the north gallery of the lower cloister, furnishes additional evidence on this point. According to the *Memoriae Silenses* this portal *nullum ornatum habebat sed in muro apperta post plura saecula*,⁵⁷ and *per sex gradus ascendebatur ad ecclesiam inferiorem*.⁵⁸ The portal in the eighteenth century was six steps above the lower cloister level. As the old pavement of the lower church was six feet below the later one, which was on the level of this door sill, the level of the cloister must have been slightly higher than the original church floor. This would give reason to believe that the change was made before the construction of the lower cloister was undertaken. When it was made, it was, of course, necessary to raise the lintel of the door correspondingly, which would account for the statement *sed in muro apperta post plura saecula*.

Even with the higher floor level in the lower church, a flight of ten steps was necessary to connect the two parts of the building: *ab ecclesia superiori per decem gradus descendebatur in ecclesiam inferiorem*.⁵⁹ This stairway was built over the apses of the pre-Romanesque church (cf. Fig. 3). In the eighteenth century it extended across the nave and south aisle only: Fig. 4 shows in the north aisle a parapet with a narrow stairway leading up to a pulpit, which could also be entered from the upper church, but it is by no means certain that this was the original arrangement.⁶⁰ The old apses must have been accessible even after the construction of the upper church, for when they were discovered in 1767 four coins, on one side stamped *Toletum* and on the other *Adefonsus*, were found under the

54. *Tresque naves (ecclesiae inferioris) navibus ecclesiae superioris correspondentes formabant; seu potius in correspondentiam illarum facta superiores: ita taliter ut capita harum trium navium pedes aliarum ecclesiae superioris in muro utriusque divisorio tangerent. Vel clarius: ubi tres naves ecclesiae inferioris capita habebant, inaepta fabrica ecclesiae superioris (multo illa posteriori) cum correspondentia ad inferiorem in navibus. Memoriae Silenses, I, fol. 118.*

55. *Cum ergo in navi media fossae pro fundamentis novae ecclesiae apperirentur, apparuit aliud pavementum, de quo nulla memoria, ad profunditatem sex pedum, in quo alia sepultura in saxo fossae cum lapidibus subtilibus cooperta reperiuntur, in quibus ossa defunctorum. Memoriae Silenses, I, foll. 122-123.*

56. This is another indication that the upper church was built during the life of Santo Domingo, for the most

plausible explanation for the raising of the pavement level of the lower church is the desire of bringing it into closer relation to the upper church.

57. *Memoriae Silenses*, I, fol. 124.

58. *Ibid.*, fol. 123.

59. *Ibid.*, fol. 122.

60. In 1553 Gaspar Ximenez Otaziez and Domingo de Castro Otaziez were conceded the rights of patronage of the Capilla de los Santos Reyes, formed out of the single bay of the north aisle of the upper church: cf. Férotin, *Histoire*, p. 352, note 1. If this stairway had originally extended across the north aisle as it did across the south aisle, this space would have been little better than a passageway; consequently, it is possible that the stairway was taken down at that time and the arrangement indicated in Fig. 4 substituted.

stones forming the top of the altar of the central apse.⁶¹ From these pieces of money P. Díaz supposed that the altar must have been repaired after the conquest of Toledo by Alfonso VI in 1085. Although this conjecture is obviously correct, it does not follow that this was still the principal altar of the church in or after 1085;⁶² the only safe inference is that the apse and its altar were in some way accessible at that time. The six feet gained by the raising of the lower church pavement and the additional height given by the ascent of the stairway made their preservation possible, although they must have been without light. How they were entered is not clear.⁶³

From the remains of the south transept and the plan (Fig. 4) a fairly complete idea of the upper church can be obtained. The nave and the side aisles continued east for one bay from the top of the stairway; there was a domed crossing, three apses terminating the nave and side aisles, and transepts with small apsidioles in their eastern walls. The nave and transepts were covered with ribbed barrel vaults. There were six cruciform piers with two half columns on each face, four free standing and two adossed to the walls separating the central from the subsidiary apses.⁶⁴ The single bay of the north aisle, although it does not appear to have contained an altar originally, was remodeled as a chapel in the sixteenth century,⁶⁵ as was the corresponding bay of the south aisle.

The dome which covered the crossing, although mentioned in the texts, is not adequately represented in the plans. The inaccurate earlier sketch (Fig. 3) has an impossible ellipse over the crossing, while Fig. 4 gives no indication of the nature of the dome. It was octagonal, probably with windows in four sides, and decorated with paintings.⁶⁶ Of it Nebreda says briefly: *Tiene un cruzero grande y muy bueno, y en este y en todo lo demas bien semejante a la iglesia mayor vieja de Salamanca*,⁶⁷ while P. Díaz barely mentions its existence.⁶⁷ If this comparison with the celebrated Torre del Gallo were accepted at its

61. *Memoriae Silenses*, I, fol. 132. A coin of this type is reproduced by Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *La España del Cid*, Madrid, Editorial Plutarco, 1929, I, p. 333.

62. P. Toribios and P. Saiz reach this conclusion, and consequently assign the upper church to the end of the eleventh century.

63. One might expect that the steps in the north and south aisles would lead to the upper church, and those in the nave down to the old apses, but this cannot have been the case, for the documents make it clear that the stairways in the nave and the south aisle both led up. Possibly, although it seems unprecedented, the stairway in the north aisle led down originally, but was blocked up in a later period. In any event, however the apses were entered after the construction of the upper church, the entrance must have been closed and forgotten long before the eighteenth century, for when two of them were accidentally discovered in 1767 they were regarded as hitherto unsuspected novelties.

64. *Praedicta ecclesia superior formata est ex sex postibus, seu columnis quadris, in quorum singula facie duae semi-columnae: arcus vero non ex puncto acuto, ut communiter Gothi in fabricis utebantur; sed ex medio puncto, ut in fabrica Romana. Quae parastatae in singula navi duos ordines infra cappella supradicta formabant. Memoriae Silenses*, I, fol. 107.

The plan (Fig. 4) is rather inexact and structurally dubious in its representation of the two western piers of the upper church, as it omits the half columns on the eastern, northern, and southern faces of the piers. In addition, it provides no adequate terminal facilities for the easternmost arches of the lower church. Probably the half columns which stood adossed to the dividing walls between the three pre-Romanesque apses of the lower church before the construction of the upper church were left in place, and the westernmost piers of the upper church built against them, although these half columns are not indicated on the plan.

The paired columns adossed to the piers present no chronological difficulty, for the motive was known in Spain before the eleventh century. Paired columns were used in S. Maria de Naranco (Oviedo) and S. Cristina de Lena (Oviedo) in the ninth century. I owe these references to Professor Conant.

65. In 1652 and 1653 paintings were made for the dome to replace earlier ones, and a contemporary inventory (published by Férotin, *Histoire*, p. 174, note 1), in which the dome is spoken of as *el ochavado de la yglesia*, indicates its octagonal shape.

66. Férotin, *Histoire*, p. 359.

67. *In primo et medio supra arcus formata fornix seu tholum, vulgo media-naranja. Memoriae Silenses*, I, fol. 107.

face value, it would follow that the crossing at Silos was covered by a dome on pendentives with a sixteen-sided drum. However, this disagrees with the evidence in favor of an octagonal dome, and the Salamanca tower is of the twelfth century and not of the eleventh.⁶⁸ Domes on pendentives are not found in any of the extant eleventh century Spanish churches. In the Catalan first Romanesque style squinches are the rule: the domes of Sant Ponç de Corbera (Barcelona), Sant Miquel de Cruïlles (Gerona), Sant Jaume de Frontanyà (Barcelona), Sant Llorenç del Munt (Barcelona), Gualter (Lérida), Sant Pere de Pons (Barcelona), Sant Cugat del Recó (Barcelona), Sant Daniel de Gerona, and Santa Maria de Cervelló (Barcelona), although of varying types, are all supported on squinches.⁶⁹ The church in the Aragonese castle of Loarre (Huesca), which is earlier than 1095, has a dome on squinches.⁷⁰ Returning to Castile, the monument nearest to Silos both geographically and chronologically is the church of S. Martín de Frómista (Palencia), which was in construction in 1066.⁷¹ This eleventh century church, the sculptures of which are related to the Puerta de las Virgines, is surmounted by an octagonal lantern with four windows, which covers a dome on squinches with an octagonal drum.⁷² The evidence does not permit the identification of the Silos dome with any particular one of these monuments, but the prevalence of the squinch dome in the eleventh century would seem to indicate that it was of that type.

To the east of the crossing three apses terminated the three aisles of the upper and lower churches. The central apse, which contained the high altar dedicated to S. Sebastián, with six steps leading up to it (cf. Fig. 4), was separated from the crossing by a short choir, and extended farther to the east than the side apses.⁷³ The apse to the north was dedicated to St. Martin of Tours, with an altar elevated three steps above the pavement, and the similar apse to the south was dedicated to the Virgin. The plan (Fig. 4) shows engaged columns in all three apses, which would indicate that their walls were decorated with blind arcades. It seems likely that the blind arcades in the central apses of the neighbouring churches of S. Pedro de Arlanza (Burgos), begun in 1080,⁷⁴ and S. Quirce (Burgos)⁷⁵ were

68. R. P. Isaac Toribios suggests that Nebreda knew the Torre del Gallo because of the Benedictine College in Salamanca, and, being but poorly acquainted with other architectural monuments, compared the Silos dome to Salamanca because he knew nothing that was more like it.

69. Cf. J. Puig i Cadafalch, A. de Falguera, and J. Goday i Casals, *L'Arquitectura Romànica a Catalunya*, Barcelona, Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 1909-18, Vol. II: J. Puig i Cadafalch, *Le premier art roman*, Paris, Laurens, 1928; *La geografia i els orígens del primer art romànic*, Barcelona, Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 1930.

70. Lampérez, *Historia de la arquitectura cristiana española*, II, pp. 353-357; Walter Muir Whitehill, Jr., *An Inscription of 1095 at Loarre*, in *Speculum*, III, 1928, p. 254.

71. Francisco Simón y Nieto, *Los antiguos campos góticos*, in *Boletín de la sociedad española de excursiones*, II, 1894, p. 140; Porter, *Spanish Romanesque Sculpture*, I, p. 49 and note 379; Lampérez, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 28-29.

72. Lampérez, *op. cit.*, I, p. 443.

73. *In ecclesia vero superiori erat cappella maior, in ea que choris inferior, quae a cruce versus orientem longior erat colateralibus S. Martini a dextris, et B. M. Virginis a*

sinistris. Memoriae Silenses, I, fol. 107. Cf. Nebreda, in Férotin, *Histoire*, p. 359.

74. Rodrigo Amador de los Ríos, *Las ruinas del Monasterio de Arlanza*, Madrid, 1896, p. 10; Lampérez, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 43-46. Amador de los Ríos published an inscription, which stated that the church was begun in 1081. This has disappeared in the progressive ruin of Arlanza, but its authenticity is confirmed by Dom Pérez de Urbel's recent discovery in the Silos Archives of a rubbing of it made in the eighteenth century by P. Domingo de Ibarreta (Abbot of Silos, 1753-57). Amador de los Ríos copied the inscription incorrectly, as P. Ibarreta's rubbing clearly reads *era 1118* (A. D. 1080). Dom Pérez de Urbel will shortly publish this and other eighteenth century copies of lost inscriptions which are preserved in the Silos Archives.

75. Dating from the last years of the eleventh or early years of the twelfth century. Cf. Justo Pérez de Urbel and Walter Muir Whitehill, Jr., *La iglesia románica de San Quirce*, in *Boletín de la academia de la Historia*, XCVIII, 1931, pp. 795-812; Lampérez, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 39-42. The church of S. Quirce has a dome on squinches, and as the apse decoration seems to be derived from Silos the dome may well be also.

derived from Silos. There were undoubtedly windows in the apses, but their number cannot be determined, as the plan throughout shows no openings above the level of the ground.

The north and south transepts were covered by barrel vaults. High up in each of the three walls of each transept was a window decorated with sculptured capitals.⁷⁶ In the east wall of each arm was an apsidiole containing an altar.⁷⁷ The apsidiole of the south transept, which, like its northern counterpart, was in form *menos de un semi círculo*,⁷⁸ contained an altar dedicated to the virgin saints *Madalena, Catalina, Marina, Agueda y Barbara* according to Nebreda,⁷⁹ although another account of the same period states that the dedication was in honor of the eleven thousand virgins.⁸⁰ It is from this altar that the *Puerta de las Virgines*, directly opposite, derived its name. The apsidiole was destroyed when the present sacristy was built, and a trace of its arch may now be seen in the plastered-over masonry of the rebuilt transept.

The style of the sculptures, their relation to the León Panteón, and the probability that the *Puerta de las Virgines* was built before the east gallery of the cloister suggest that the upper church was the work of the sixties of the eleventh century.

Not long after the completion of the church, Santo Domingo undertook the construction of the cloister. For this work he was so fortunate as to secure a new group of workmen whose sculptures far surpassed in quality those of the upper church. Work was begun at the southeast corner of the monastery, and construction advanced toward the north along the east wall. The completion of this east gallery (Fig. 9) involved the almost complete blocking of the recently finished *Puerta de las Virgines*, but because of the superior character of the new work this was probably the cause of little regret.

The capitals and pier reliefs, which are dated by the 1073-1076 epitaph of Santo Domingo, are too well known to require extensive description or praise. It appears that the reliefs of the Ascension⁸¹ and Pentecost⁸² at the southeast angle were the first to be put in place,⁸³ and that the east gallery was the first to be completed (Fig. 6).⁸⁴ This gallery, the only one in which the original plan has been completely carried out, is of fourteen arches, with a group of four columns in the center. All the capitals and abaci (numbers 1 to 15) are the work of the sculptor of the pier reliefs (Figs. 14, 15). Opening out of the center of the gallery, five arches, four of which are now blocked up, communicated with the Chapter

76. This is evident from the extant remains of the south transept. The capitals of the window in the south wall of the south transept are reproduced in Figs. 7, 8.

77. Completing his description of the north transept, Nebreda says: *Aora ay un relicario y oratorio de canteria, en el qual está el sepulcro del santo abad D. Rodrigo* [Rodrigo Yenenguez de Guzmán, Abbot of Silos, 1246-1276] *y sobre el está un retablo de piedra en el qual está una figura de nuestro padre santo Domingo de pontifical y muchos captivos a sus pies quitandose las prisiones* (Férotin, *Histoire*, pp. 360-361). This thirteenth century relief, apparently placed in the north wall of the transept, is now set into the wall of the *Escalera de los Leones* in the

monastery, near the entrance to the library: reproduced by Porter, *Spanish Romanesque Sculpture*, II, pl. 97.

78. Silos archives, MS. 22.

79. Férotin, *Histoire*, p. 359.

80. *Ibid.*, p. 351.

81. Reproduced by Porter, *op. cit.*, I, pl. 37.

82. *Ibid.*, I, pl. 39.

83. Schapiro, *op. cit.*, note 16, points out that the inscription on the Pentecost relief is more archaic than the epitaph of Santo Domingo.

84. This plan of the cloister is reproduced from Padre Pérez de Urbel's *El Claustro de Silos*, p. 21; the numbering of the capitals in the plan is followed in the succeeding paragraphs.

House (Fig. 10).⁸⁵ This arcade must be contemporaneous with the cloister gallery, for its capitals are by the same hand. Just north of the Chapter House the construction of the gallery required the blocking of the Puerta de las Virgines. Professor Conant has discovered the foundations of a tower, filling in the angle between the south transept and the nave of the church: as part of the original arch leading to the Puerta de las Virgines forms an integral part of the tower masonry, it must be contemporary with the cloister gallery. There is a tower in exactly the same position at Santiago de Compostela.⁸⁶ At the northern end of the east gallery the pier relief represents the Maries at the Tomb.⁸⁷ On the other face is carved the Deposition from the Cross (Fig. 2).⁸⁸

The construction of the north gallery (Fig. 12), running along the south wall of the lower church, was continued by the same workmen. In 1073, when the gallery was partially finished, Santo Domingo died and was buried in it near the portal of S. Miguel.⁸⁹ His epitaph was carved on the abacus of the group of four capitals (no. 23—Fig. 17), and as his body was translated into the church only three years later here is definite proof that the north gallery was in construction between the years 1073 and 1076. The north gallery is less unified than the east, for it is formed not by fourteen arches with a group of four columns in the center, but by sixteen arches, with the four columns seven bays from the northeast angle and nine from the northwest (Fig. 6). From this fact it would appear that the original plan was for a fourteen-arch arcade, similar to the east gallery, and that the two westernmost arches (30-31 and 31-32 of Fig. 6) were the result of a change of plan; this supposition is confirmed by an examination of the style of the capitals. In the east gallery all the capitals and abaci (1 to 15) are by the sculptor of the pier reliefs (Figs. 13, 14, 15), as are 16 to 27 in the north gallery. 28 is of inferior workmanship, clearly substituted in a later reconstruction. 29 and 32 have capitals and abaci by the same artist, while in 30 (Fig. 16) and 31 the capitals are by the same hand, but the abaci are clearly the work of a second sculptor. In the west and south galleries the work of this second sculptor predominates (Fig. 18), although capitals and abaci by the first artist are mixed in quite at random, and in two cases the work of a third sculptor (38—Fig. 19—and 40) is found.⁹⁰ It is obvious that there has been a drastic reconstruction of all the galleries except the east.

85. On the north the Chapter House abutted the south transept of the upper church. In 1505 it was transformed into a Gothic chapel, and so remained until 1732, when the construction of the present octagonal chapel of Santo Domingo directly above it necessitated the destruction of its vaults and the walling up of its arcade. It is now a cluttered storeroom. Recently the plaster that covered the capitals on either side of the central arch has been dug away and two groups of quadruple foliage capitals discovered. They are by the same hand as the capitals of the east gallery, although slightly larger in size.

86. Kenneth John Conant, *The Early Architectural History of the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1926, pl. VIII. At Santiago there is a balancing tower on the north; the Silos plan (Fig. 4) shows only a spiral stairway in this position, and as the present church covers that part of the site it is impossible to determine what the original disposition was.

87. Reproduced by Porter, *op. cit.*, I, pl. 38.

88. *Ibid.*, I, pl. 40.

89. Santo Domingo died on December 20, 1073, and was buried *intra claustrum fratrum ante porta ecclesie* (Grimualdo, *Vita*, i, 21, in Vergara, *op. cit.*, p. 370).

90. The situation in the west and south galleries may be briefly summarized as follows, c. indicating the capital, a. the abacus, and I, II, and III the responsible sculptors: 33—c. II, a. II; 34—c. I, a. II; 35—c. I, a. II; 36—c. I, a. plain; 37—c. I, a. II; 38—c. III, a. II; 39—c. II, a. plain; 40—c. III, a. II; 41-44—c. II, a. II; 45—c. copy of II, a. II; 46—c. II, a. plain; 47—c. II, a. II; 48-49—c. II, a. II; 50—c. II, a. plain; 51—c. II, a. II; 52—c. II, a. I; 53—c. II, a. II; 54—c. II, a. I; 55—c. II, a. II; 56—c. II, a. plain; 57-59—c. II, a. II; 60—c. plain, a. II; 61—c. II, a. plain; 62—c. II, a. I; 63-64—c. II, a. II.

Figs. 13, 14, 15, 17 reproduce numbers 12, 13, 6, 23 (capital and abacus by the first artist); Fig. 16 reproduces no. 30 (capital by first artist, abacus by second); Fig. 18 reproduces no. 43 (capital and abacus by the second artist); Fig. 19 reproduces no. 38 (capital by third artist, abacus by second).



FIG. 17—Santo Domingo de Silos (Burgos): Capital 23 of North Gallery of Lower Cloister with Epitaph of Santo Domingo



FIG. 18—Santo Domingo de Silos (Burgos): Capital 43 of West Gallery of Lower Cloister (Capital and Abacus by Second Sculptor)



FIG. 19—Santo Domingo de Silos (Burgos): Capital 38 of West Gallery of Lower Cloister (Capital by Third Sculptor, Abacus by Second)



FIG. 20—Santo Domingo de Silos (Burgos): Capital 43 of West Gallery of Lower Cloister (Capital and Abacus by Second Sculptor)



FIG. 21—Santo Domingo de Silos (Burgos), Museum:
Capital

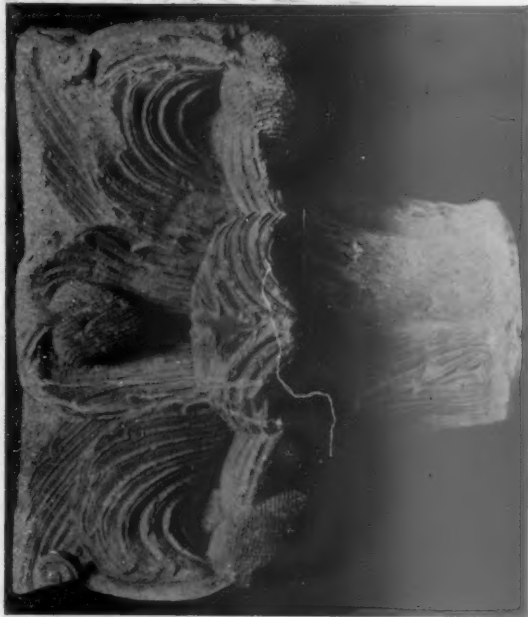


FIG. 22—Santo Domingo de Silos (Burgos), Museum:
Capital from North Porch of Destroyed Church



FIG. 23

Santo Domingo de Silos (Burgos), Museum; Capitals from North Porch of Destroyed Church



FIG. 24

Further evidence is supplied by the shape of the columns. In the east gallery all the columns are delicately proportioned and somewhat cigar shaped (Fig. 11); because of the shape of the double capitals the columns are entirely separated. In the north gallery numbers 16 to 27 have columns of this type. All the remaining columns of the cloister are cylindrical; in the cases where capitals by the first master have been re-used (30, 31, 32, 34, 35, 36, 37) the columns are separated, but where the capitals are by the second master they are joined together (cf. Fig. 18). From these facts it becomes evident that the two westernmost arches of the north gallery (30-31 and 31-32) are due to a slightly later reconstruction, and that the gallery as originally built was exactly like the east gallery, of fourteen arches with the group of four columns (no. 23) in the middle. This work was probably carried out directly after the death of Santo Domingo, the relief of the Journey to Emmaus⁹¹ put in place, the corner turned with the relief of the Incredulity of Thomas,⁹² and the construction of the west gallery begun. This was, as we have seen, somewhat nearer the east than the present gallery. Before it was completed, however, Fortunius, the successor of Santo Domingo, was obliged to suspend operations and turn his attention elsewhere.

The fame of Santo Domingo spread abroad with almost miraculous rapidity, and his relics were translated into the church in 1076 to make them more accessible to the pilgrims who constantly came to his shrine.⁹³ The great porch for the accommodation of pilgrims, which extended along the north wall⁹⁴ of the lower church, very probably dates from this period (Fig. 4). As Santo Domingo's body rested in the chapel in the north aisle of the lower church, this porch made it possible for many pilgrims to pray and even pass the night in close proximity to the shrine without disturbing the monastic offices. The porch may have had a series of open arcades of the type so common in the twelfth century Romanesque of Segovia and Soria;⁹⁵ the plan gives no clue, but, as we have already noted, no openings above the ground level are indicated on it. In the museum of the monastery are three capitals (Figs. 22-24) executed by the sculptor of the east and north galleries of the lower cloister, but somewhat larger in scale than the cloister capitals. These are commonly supposed to have come from some part of the destroyed church.⁹⁶ As the sculptures of the upper church were of the style of the Puerta de las Virgenes, that part of the building must be crossed off the list of possibilities, and, as the capitals were obviously made for a single

91. Reproduced by Porter, *op. cit.*, I, pl. 35.

92. *Ibid.*, I, pl. 36.

93. Grimualdo's *Vita*, written before the turn of the century, records more miracles of the saint than the modern reader is inclined to wade through.

94. This porch must have been a work of the eleventh century, for it is mentioned by Grimualdo (*Vita*, ii, 40, 45: iii, 45), who was a disciple of Santo Domingo and wrote his life before the year 1100.

95. Arcaded porches were used in Spain before the Romanesque period: cf. S. Miguel de Escalda (León), consecrated in 913. The best known examples of these porches in the twelfth century are those of Segovia, Sepúlveda (Segovia) and S. Esteban de Gormaz (Soria), but there are many others in the country churches of that part of Castile. I can add to the list the little known and unpublished church of Santa Maria de la Asunción in the

village of Duratón (Segovia), a few kilometers from Sepúlveda. Don Blas Taracena, Director of the Museo Numantino in Soria, has in preparation a study of these porches and the rural Romanesque of his province. The ermita of Santa Cecilia at Santibañez del Val (Burgos), only two or three kilometers from Silos, has a similar porch: cf. Isaac Toribios and Roman Saiz, in *Boletín de la sociedad española de excursiones*, XXXIII (1925), pp. 198-209. In all of these cases the porch is, without exception, on the south side of the church, but the Silos porch was clearly built along the north wall to allow pilgrims as close access as possible to the tomb of Santo Domingo.

96. Two of these capitals were found in 1915 in the course of repairs, and the third in 1927. Ricardo Orueta, *La Escultura del siglo XI en el claustro de Silos*, in *Archivo español de arte y arqueología*, VI (1930), pp. 223-240, emphasizes their importance.

shaft, they cannot come from the western end of the lower church. It seems most likely that they were used in the porch. This confirms the assumption that the porch had open arcades similar to those of the cloister, but on a relatively larger scale.

A portal, opening from the porch into the village street, was richly decorated with sculptures of royal personages wearing crowns and a representation of Santo Domingo in pontifical array with kneeling captives at his feet. *En el lado derecho del arco de la puerta está un rey, y al otro una reyna, como fundadores de este monasterio*⁹⁷ suggests jamb sculptures. There is no indication of the date of the sculptures. In 1712 the whole wall was repaired, and the statues very likely disappeared then.⁹⁸ An elaborately decorated portal led from the porch into the lower church. The Nativity, the Circumcision, and the Adoration of the Kings were represented on the outer arch of the archivolt; on the second the Massacre of the Innocents, and on the inner arch the Marriage of Cana.⁹⁹ In the excavations carried on in 1931 in this part of the church under the direction of the Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando the foundations of this portal were discovered (Fig. 20).

In the summer of 1088 Fortunius was called away to attend a council at Husillos.¹⁰⁰ Finding there a group of ecclesiastical dignitaries of somewhat more than ordinary importance, he decided to seize the opportunity and invite certain of them to return with him to Silos and consecrate the upper church, finished some years before by Santo Domingo. Since several members of the council were prominent in the rising party of Cluniac reformers, no doubt Fortunius felt it was as well to take advantage of the meeting of so many illustrious personages, and secure the honor of their presence in his monastery by proposing a consecration. The president of the council, Cardinal Richard, Abbot of St.-Victor de Marseilles, Pierre, Archbishop of Aix in Provence, Bernardo, Archbishop of Toledo, Gómez, Bishop of Burgos, and Raimundo Dalmatio, Bishop of Roda in Aragón accepted the invitation and returned to Silos with Fortunius. The consecration was celebrated on September 29, 1088.¹⁰¹ A contemporary note in the Silos manuscript of the *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville, now preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, gives the exact part of each bishop in the ceremony.¹⁰² A tablet of the year 1645¹⁰³ in the lower cloister, said to be a copy of an older inscription, also records the event and states that the cloister was dedicated at the same time.

It is clear that the two western bays of the lower church were not pre-Romanesque, for the plan (Fig. 4) shows cruciform piers with two half columns adossed to each face, as in Santo Domingo's upper church; the *Memoriae Silenses* is explicit on this point.¹⁰⁴ These

97. Nebreda, in Férotin, *Histoire*, p. 360.

98. *Memoriae Silenses*, I, fol. 121.

99. Nebreda, in Férotin, *Histoire*, p. 360; *Memoriae Silenses*, I, fol. 120.

100. Férotin, *Recueil*, pp. 41-43, publishes a corrected version of the decisions of the council, signed by Alfonso VI, Cardinal Richard, thirteen bishops, and various abbots and noblemen. *Ego Fortunius, Exiliensis abbas, confirmo* heads the list of abbots.

101. Cf. Férotin, *Histoire*, pp. 71-72.

102. *Anno ab incarnatione domini millesimo LCCCVIII^o, regnante rege Adefonso in Toletu et in regnis suis, Bernardo Tholeti archiepiscopo dedicata est ecclesia: altari sancti Sebastiani et sancti Petri et sancti Andre a domno Petro*

Aquensi archiepiscopo; et in dextera techa sancte Marie, sancti Michaelis archangeli, et sancti Iohannis euangeliste a domno Gomessano Burgensi episcopo; et in sinistra techa sancti Martini et sancti Benedicti et sancti Nicolai et sancti Dominici a domno Raimundo Rodensi episcopo, consecrata sunt in presentia domni Ricardi cardinalis Romani, regente abba Fortunio, era TCXXVI. Nouv. acq. lat. 2169, leaf placed between foll. 37 and 38, verso.

103. Férotin, *Histoire*, p. 296.

104. *Ast ab eodem opus satis magnificum aedificatum fuit in parte inferioris ecclesiae occidentali . . . ex quatuor nempe columnis, seu postibus, et aliis dimidiis in muro ecclesiam terminante, et in collateralibus tunc aedificatis mira corporeitatis et altitudinis opere Gothico eleganti prae illo*

piers imply barrel vaults, similar to those of the upper church. I had supposed that this addition to the lower church was the work of Fortunius, perhaps just finished at the time of the 1088 consecration, but the excavations of 1931 seem to indicate that it was of the twelfth century. A few feet to the west of the portal leading from the porch to the north aisle of the lower church, the base of a group of three adossed columns was found. This base has the look of twelfth century work, and by its trefoil plan would indicate that the aisle was covered with ribbed groin vaults. It is possible, however, that these bays were the work of Fortunius, and were rebuilt during the twelfth century in a general remodeling of the lower church. Of the principal portal in the west façade little can be determined. The *Memoriae Silenses*¹⁰⁶ laconically praises it as *porta magnifica et principalis*, and although the foundations of the west façade are still visible under the choir of the present church they give little clue to its style.

There is no definite evidence as to when the work on the cloister was resumed. The only certain fact is that work was in progress in 1158.¹⁰⁶ The south gallery was the first product of this campaign,¹⁰⁷ and was longer than the corresponding northern one, for it consists of sixteen arches with the group of four columns in the middle (Fig. 6). This extension of the original plan was probably due to a desire to bring the cloister as near as possible to the cell of Santo Domingo, which had by then become a place of considerable veneration.¹⁰⁸ It is evident that the sculptor of the pier reliefs and the east and north galleries was no longer available, for the south gallery capitals are by a second and inferior hand (Fig. 18), imitating, in some cases, the motives of its distinguished predecessor. The pier at the southwest angle was decorated with reliefs, full of an almost baroque feeling, of the Tree of Jesse¹⁰⁹ and the Annunciation.¹¹⁰

As the south gallery, built according to the modified plan, extended two arches further to the west than the northern one, it was necessary to take down and rebuild the portion of the west gallery that Fortunius had constructed after the death of Santo Domingo: the capitals and abaci by the first master were re-used as we have seen, the gallery was built, the pier reliefs of the Journey to Emmaus and the Incredulity of St. Thomas moved to the west, and the two additional arches (30-31 and 31-32) added to the north gallery. Thus was the lower cloister completed.

Before the west gallery, as we now know it, was roofed over, the plan of superimposing the upper cloister was conceived. This is evident from the fact that there is no break in the masonry between the two cloisters in this gallery, while in the other three there is evidence of there having been a roof for the lower galleries. The upper cloister was finished

restanti illius ecclesiae; quae columnis erectae sunt in linea recta cum aliis usque ad hoc tempus conservatis. Quare non absque fundamento infertur, animum tunc fuisse, totam ecclesiam antiquam, quae postibus rotundis et parva altitudinis constabant, sub huius elegantioris architecturae forma reaedificare. Memoriae Silenses, I, fol. 121.

105. I, fol. 122.

106. Férotin, *Recueil*, p. 91; Porter, *op. cit.*, II, p. 27.

107. An examination of the masonry makes it clear that the south gallery was built before the west, for it can be clearly seen that in the former the wall had had time to sag out of plumb before the corresponding gallery of the

upper cloister was superposed, while in the latter there is no break whatsoever in the masonry of the two cloisters.

108. The cell, now transformed into a baroque chapel and known as the Camara Santa, is adjacent to the southwest angle of the present cloister. I owe this suggestion to Professor Conant.

109. Reproduced in Porter, *op. cit.*, II, pl. 85.

110. *Ibid.*, II, pl. 84. Professor Conant has pointed out to me that these two reliefs, unlike the six earlier ones, do not form an integral part of the construction, and may have been put in place after the work of building was finished.

during the twelfth century, although no definite date can be assigned for its completion. Very possibly the *Dominicus operarius* mentioned in a document of 1175¹¹¹ worked on it. Similar in plan to the lower cloister, it in no way rivals it either in subtlety of proportion or beauty of detail. The capitals are perfectly respectable twelfth century productions, but poor indeed in comparison with the superb sculptures of the eleventh century. Clearly here, as in so many other places, an advance in time brought no corresponding advance in artistic development. The inferiority of the sculptures in the upper cloister does much to confirm the suspicion that the artistic renaissance of the eleventh century at Silos was due very largely to the enthusiasm and the refined taste of Santo Domingo himself. Before him there was little of consequence, and after him mediocrity.

111. Férotin, *Histoire*, p. 332; *Recueil*, p. 100.

SUMMARY

1. There was a pre-Romanesque church of three aisles with three apses at Silos, which very likely dated from the early years of the tenth century.
2. In 1041, on Santo Domingo's arrival at Silos, this church was in bad repair. He raised the floor level six feet, and added to the east the upper church, of which the south transept still exists. The style of the sculptures, in comparison with those of the cloister, indicates that this was his first work, and suggests a date in the seventh decade of the eleventh century.
3. Shortly after the completion of the church, work was begun on the cloister. The east gallery was finished and the north gallery in construction when Santo Domingo died, in 1073.
4. The abbot Fortunius probably completed the north gallery according to the original plan (two bays shorter than the present gallery), and began the construction of the original west gallery (nearer the east than the present one).
5. After the translation of the relics of Santo Domingo into the church, in 1076, so many pilgrims visited his shrine that Fortunius was obliged to suspend work on the cloister and build the great porch along the north wall of the lower church.
6. In 1088 a consecration was celebrated.
7. In the twelfth century two bays were added to the western end of the lower church.
8. In the course of the twelfth century, possibly about 1158, work was resumed on the cloister. A south gallery was built, longer than provided in the original plan in order to bring the cloister as near as possible to the cell of Santo Domingo. Hence, it was necessary to pull down the original west gallery and rebuild it some feet to the west, adding two bays to the west of the north gallery. In this reconstruction capitals and abaci by the sculptor of the pier reliefs were re-used wherever possible.
9. Before the present west gallery was roofed over, construction was begun on the upper cloister.

APPENDIX

Extracts from the *Memoriae Silenses*, I, ii, relating to the Romanesque church of Santo Domingo de Silos.

2. *Ecclesiae Antiquae Declaratio*

Fol. 105 verso: Certo certius constat, quod Monasterium Silense antiquitus fuit duplex unum cum alio continuum, monachorum scilicet et monialium: duplicem quoque Ecclesiam, monachorum nempe, S. Martyri Sebastiano, Monialium vero Sancto Archangelo Michaeli sacram fuisse, pariter constat.

Circa situm ecclesiae S. Michaelis primitus monialium, varie opiniatum; at quid sentiamus, inferius patebit. Circa ecclesiae Sti. Sebastiani, ab ipsa sui prima fundatione monachorum, variationes usque ad totalem sui demolitionem, satis obscura omnia: quippe tres fabricae diversa architectura in ea notantur. Nunc autem de ea in statu, in quo ante modernam demolitionem stabat, agemus.

Fol. 106 recto: Videmus ergo omnes ecclesiam Silensem Sancto Sebastiano Martyri, ac Dominico Abbati sacram in eodem situ et loco, in quo nova aedificatur, excepto quod in parte occidentali propter maiorem longitudinem chori superioris sexdecim pedes additi fuerunt: sic que, si chorus pro ecclesia computetur, nova ecclesia longior est antiqua, sin autem minori longitudine pollet. Ex parte insuper orientali aequalis portio plus-minusve additum fuit ad capellam versus Vicum construendam. Ast in cappella maiori tredecim pedibus restricta longitudo. Latitudo vero antiqui templi se extendebat a pariete interiori claustrum usque ad parietem, cui sepulchrum S. P. N. Dominici adhaerebat in cappella antiqua, ubi nempe in prima translatione S. Corporis e claustro collocatum est, et permansit fere per saecula septem usque ad annum MDCCXXXIII: quod quidem ex lapide sepulchrali in memoriam [fol. 106 verso] situs in nova ecclesia posito satis liquet. Qui paries Borealis communis erat atrio, et ipsi ecclesiae St. Michaelis monialium. Pavimentum autem ab varios rupis anfractus nimis inaequale erat; ideoque fere in medio ecclesiae ab partem orientale, in qua altare majus per decem gradus ascendebatur; et ob hoc datum parti orientali nomen ecclesiae superioris; et parte occidentali, in qua pavimento aequale nomen ecclesiae inferioris. Pavimentum superioris cum magno declivio erat a Borea in meridiem, a cappella videlicet Ssmi. P. N. Benedicti usque ad cappellam novam S. Dominici. Quare pro maiori claritate, partem orientalem, et altiore ecclesiam superiorem, sicut de anno MCCLX vocabatur, vocabimus; aliamque partem ecclesiam inferiorem.

Igitur Ecclesia in utraque parte tribus navibus constabat, mediis quatuordecim [fol. 107 recto] postibus diversae architecturae, et magnitudinis. In ecclesia vero superiori erat cappella major, in ea que chorus inferior, quae a cruce versus orientem longior erat co-lateralibus S. Martini a dextris, et B. M. Virginis a sinistris. Praedicta ecclesia superior formata erat ex sex postibus, seu columnis quadris, in quorum singula facie duae semi-columnae: arcus vero non ex puncto acuto, ut communiter Gothi in fabricis utebantur; sed ex medio puncto, ut in fabrica Romana. Quae parastatae in singula navi duos ordines infra cappellas supradictas formabant. In primo et medio supra arcus formata fornix seu tholum, vulgo *media-naranja*. Postea vero, sed quando ignoratur, addita est pars usque ad cappellam novam S. P. N. Dominici; et in alia parte Boreali aequalis portio; sic que remansit crux perfecta pro tota ecclesia superiori et inferiori.

Fol. 107 verso: Deinde in ultimo et superiori gradu scalae, que ab inferiori ad superiorem ecclesiam ascendebatur, in eademque linea parietis interioris claustrum orientalis fuit antiquitus paries, ut videbatur, ejusdem fabricae, ac ecclesiae inferioris, in parte ejus superiori; illamque ibi terminans. Qui paries postea in singulis navibus appertus fuit, suppositis arcubus; ut ad evidentiam in demolitione visum: sicque ecclesia inferior et superior una remansit, cum decem videlicet gradibus in singula navi. Sed quando hujusmodi communicatio facta, latet. Vide notanda inferius.

In parte Boreali in qua ab anno salutem MDCXXIV Altare S. P. N. Benedicti a R. P. Fr. Benedicto Guerra Abbate aedificatum usque hodie perseverat, in cujus dextera sacristia antiqua usque ad annum MDCCCLII, in quo ejus, et turris contigua demolitio, perseveravit. Ex [fol. 108 recto] regione ejus erat altare SS. Aegidii et Nicolai sub arcu seu ornatina in corpore parietis formato, in quo postea statua lapidea Sanctae Annae (statuis SS. Aegidii et Nicolai antiquitate nimis deformibus in sacristia veteri anno MDCCXXIV sepultis) cum altari permansit usque ad annum MDCCCL quando in praedicto arcu apertum est ostium versus forum Burgi ad ingressum totius ecclesiae superioris: quae interim in ecclesia inferiori pars nova aedificabitur pro divinis officinis, parochialique usu destinata permansit.

Infra crucem vero usque ad parietem occidentalem, utramque ecclesiam dividenter in ea parte quae interjacet inter dictum parietem, et proximiora parastata, remansit aliud spatium in singula navi aequale spatio crucis: in illoque dextera navis post plura saecula cratibus ligneis formata est cappella SS. Regum a familia de Castro et Otañez, quae hodie in familia [fol. 108 verso] del Corral, ut postea dicitur, perseverat dotata. In latere vero sinistro aliud spatium aequale erat, in quo supra arcus formatum est pavimento, in quo organum collocatum; nullumque impedimentum remansit, quominus e tota

navi sinistra, in cuius capite altare B. V. Mariae in cappella a sinistris locata videretur, ac missa ab omnibus audiretur: quae quidem cappella saeculo XVI familia de Forres concessa. . . .

Fol. 109 recto: In parte vero evangelij a dextris cappella maioris adest, ut dictum est cappella S. Martini Turonensis divisa a maiori per arcum. . . .

Fol. 109 verso: Prope finem saeculi XVI fabricata sacristia nova cum Reliquario prope cappellam novam S. P. N. Dominici, et e regione portae, per quam e claustro in ecclesiam intratur: a qua sacristia per trans cappellam B. M. Virginis brevi via ad altare majus ingreditur. Qua quidem sacristia utpote major, arte, ac structura longe magnificentior quacumque alia, in nova ecclesia posita aut ponenda conservanda est; atque illa utendum, utpote [fol. 110 recto] commodiori ad omnem ecclesiam, etiamsi altare maius in parte occidentali ecclesiae novae, ut in *Iconographia* assignatur, collocetur.

4. De Ecclesia inferiori

Fol. 118 recto: Post non ingratis, ut credo digressionem, ad ecclesiam inferiorem quae medietatem occidentalem totius ecclesiae constituebat, sermonem vertamus. Igitur ecclesia inferior ab occidente in orientem extensa ad aequalitatem pavimenti juxta antiqui claustrum fundata est Architectura Romana. *Cartagena* (ut in fabula claustrum inferioris humiditate pene abraza) a Recaredo rege anno DXCIII supra firmissimam petram; ac cum crassissimis columnis, quae capitulis ordinis Ionici constant; tresque naves navibus ecclesiae superioris correspondentes formabant; seu potius in correspondentiam illarum [fol. 118 verso] facta superiores: ita taliter ut capita harum trium navium pedes aliarum ecclesiae superioris in muro utriusque divisorio tangerent. Vel clarius: ubi tres naves ecclesiae inferioris capita habebant, incepta fabrica ecclesiae superioris (multo illa posteriori) cum correspondentia ad inferiorem in navibus, et non mediocri similitudine parastatarum ad illas quae ad pedes ecclesiae inferioris a S. P. N. Dominico, alius veteribus demolitis, erecta creduntur. In pariete vero boreali prope jam dictum parietem divisorium utriusque ecclesiae in arcu inter sepulchrum P. N. Dominici, et memoratum murum divisorium erat porta sacristiae primitivae ecclesiae Sti. Sebastiani, supra cuius muros erectum fuit campanarium satisaltum in modum castelli, cylindris, seu parvis columnis ad angulos, aliisque ornamentis terminatum. . . .

Fol. 121 verso: Ast ab eodem opus satis magnificum aedificatum fuit in parte inferioris ecclesiae occidentali (ut creditur, et ex Grimaldo infertur, ac superius insinuavimus) ex quatuor nempe columnis, seu postibus, et aliis dimidiis in muro ecclesiam terminante, et in collateralibus tunc aedificatis mira corporeitatis et altitudinis opere Gothico eleganti prae illo restanti illius ecclesiae: quae columnae erectae sunt in linea recta cum aliis usque ad hoc tempus conservatis. Quare non absque fundamento infertur, animum tunc fuisse, totam ecclesiam antiquam, quae postibus rotundis et parva altitudinis constabat, sub hujus elegantioris architecturae forma reaedificare. . . .

Fol. 122 verso: Antequam ab ecclesia inferiori S. Sebastiani egrediamur, opus est referre quae ad illius perfectam descriptionem, et primaeavam foundationem conducunt: pro quo sciendum, quod ab ecclesia superiori per decem gradus descendebatur in ecclesiam inferiorem: in huiusque pavimento erat sepulturae extra cappellam antiquam S. P. N. Dominici per totam ecclesiam pro parochianis sepeliendis. Cum ergo in navi media fossae pro fundamentis [fol. 123 recto] novae ecclesiae apperirentur, apparuit aliud pavementum, de quo nulla memoria, ad profunditatem sex pedum, in quo alia sepultura in saxo fossae cum lapidibus subtilibus cooperta reperiuntur, in quibus ossa defunctorum.

Insuper in inferiori pavimento praedictae ecclesiae reperta sunt supra sepulturas quaedam sepulchra integra, inter quae unum satis parvum pro quodam parvulo, seu parvula novem, aut decem annorum: iudicatum quae fuit alia quam plura sepulchra esse in reliquo pavimento ecclesiae non-discooperto. Cum ergo ex dictis constet, hoc secundum, et inferius pavementum saepe memoratae ecclesiae inferioris S. Sebastiani ad sex pedes saltem profundius esse subtus pavementum quod ab immemoriabili erat, et ad cuius aequalitatem sepulchrum S. Dominici repertum fuit, colligitur, terra repletum fuisse antequam Sanctissimus Pater diem ultimum clauderet; nempe quando relatum opus fecit, ut [fol. 123 verso] solum quatuor gradibus ad altare majus ascenderetur, ut ex dicendis patebit. Cumque pavementum ecclesiae novae non solum aequatum fuerit cum pavimento ecclesiae superioris; sed pedis altitudine supra illud elevatum sit; sequitur supra-memoratum pavementum ecclesiae inferioris noviter discoopertum remansisse altitudine tredecim pedum in circa profundis pavimento Ecclesiae novae.

Et quidem pavementum claustris inferioris ad tres vel quatuor pedes terra repletum fuisse indicant ante-pectora supra quae columnae; at insuper alia inter columnas super posita, a qua tamen, sic elevato pavimento per sex gradus ascendebatur ad ecclesiam inferiorem per portam, quae Virginum appellabatur;¹ et erat in media illarum inscriptionum *Abbas Nunius: Abbas Fortunius*: quae inscriptiones erant in utroque latere portae praedictae, ac subtus eorundem corpora, nempe ossa, quae reposita sunt trans, seu retro scriptionem singulorum. [fol. 124 recto] Ipsa porta nullum ornatum habebat sed in muro apperta post plura saecula; et tunc ossa praedictorum abbatum, quae forsam ante illam erant recondita sunt a dextris et a sinistris. . . .

Fol. 131 verso: Die vero quinta ejusdem Maii (MDCCLXVI) incepta demolitio ecclesiae superioris, quae restabat. . . . Anno sequenti prosequuta demolitio Navis [fol. 132 recto] sinistrae versus cappellam S. P. N. Dominici: et in excavatione fundamentorum primae cappellae, qua a sacristia, et a nova S. Dominici cappella intratur in novam ecclesiam inventi sunt duo semicirculi a postibus, seu columnis ultimis et orientalibus ecclesiae inferioris, se versus orientem in ecclesia superiori extendentes, formantesque capita, seu potius cappellam utriusque navis, media videlicet, et sinistrae; nec dubium, alium semicirculum subesse pavimento navis evangelii (vease al fol. ultim. 276b) quod cum totum comprehensum sit in navi novae ecclesiae, opus non fuit excavare. Ille ergo semicirculus navis mediae latioris pariter latior, et longior quatuordecim pedibus: in quo mensa altaris longitudinis novem pedum, et trium latitudinis cum cornu altaris ad ablutiones fundendas in latere epistolae, sicut moris antiqui fuisse constat: ipsa vero mensa altaris a muro ex omni parte separata, commode circui potest; altitudo vero illius [fol. 132 verso] regularis, supra quam quatuor lapides excussi superficiem superiorem formabant: quibus levatis, inventi sunt quatuor nummi aeris, quibus ex una parte titulus *Toletum*, ex alia vero *Adephonsus*; ex quo conjectare licet, illam mensam reparatam saltem fuisse tempore, vel post Adephonsi VI qui Toletum expugnavit, Maurisque expiuit anno MLXXXV.

Note referred to in fol. 132 recto

Fol. 276 verso: Según nos han informado, en el año de 1791, o 1792, quando se estaba cavando para hacer las sepulturas, se encontró efectivamente el semicirculo del evangelio de que se habla en este libro al fol. 132 y era la nave que corresponde al evangelio, habiendose encontrado la de la epístola y la del medio, según se refiere allí. En este semicirculo se encontró una mesa de altar, y detras de ella un cuerpo, que estaba en el hueco o vario entre dicha mesa de altar y el semicirculo, forrado de ideo; y se puede inferir es de San Liciniano, o de otro alguno de opinion de Santidad, a quienes en aquellos tiempos solamente se permitía ser colocados en tales sitios. Por esta razon dejaron el dicho cuerpo o los huesos en el mismo [fol. 277 recto] sitio, y es el que ocupa una sepultura de parvulos en la primera pila contando desde el altar maior p^a abajo, y está la lapida sin agujero para meter la llave como estan las demás.

1. The appellation *Virginum* is clearly a slip on the part of the author, for he is describing the portal of S. Miguel. The Puerta de las Virgines still exists, and, far from being a portal *nullum ornatum*, is decorated with sculptured capitals: in addition, it does not now and never has led *ad ecclesiam inferiorem* but *ad superiorem*. As the inscriptions of the abbots Nunius and Fortunius are still to be seen in the cloister at the site of the portal of S. Miguel, it is clear that that is the door in question.

OLD TURKISH TOWELS

BY BURTON YOST BERRY

THE art of embroidery, or painting with a needle, as the Romans called it, reached a degree of importance in Turkey and in the other Moslem countries of the Near East which it reached in no other part of the world. Koranic prohibitions, denying the reproduction of living things in material or design, decidedly curtailed the use of sculpturing and painting as a means of decoration. But where these forms of decoration suffered in popularity the use of needlework gained in popular favor. This gain was due in part to the Koranic prohibitions and in part to the fact that the people of the Near East have a highly developed appreciation for colors and designs, as well as the ability to imagine and execute lovely things in all branches of decorative arts, and particularly in the field of textile arts. Thus one reads that in the first years of the Hegira the doors and pillars of the mosques were covered with embroidered stuffs. Later architects, mindful of the fragility but high decorative value of the colors and patterns of these embroideries, imitated them in stone and faience.¹ The embroiderers then turned their skill to the ornamentation of coverings, wrappers, curtains, towels, and all manner of household things.²

The art of embroidery thus became a domestic art and in the field of domestic decoration it reigned supreme. Every precious possession was encased in an embroidered wrapper.³ And the more precious the object the more numerous were its wrappers and the more richly were they ornamented. In the humblest homes bits of jewelry were, and still are, encased in embroidered handkerchiefs while in the old palace of the Sultans in Istanbul one of the most precious possessions of Islam, the Prophet's Mantle, is protected by forty wrappers of silk, each one embroidered in golden threads with verses from the Koran.⁴

1. H. Saladin, *Manuel d'Art Musulman*, Paris, 1907; I, p. 15.

2. Anyone interested in Mediterranean and Near Eastern embroideries should not fail to consult the following works on this and closely allied subjects; H. Saladin, *op. cit.*; Gaston Migeon, *Manuel d'Art Musulman*, Paris, 1927; Dr. Bernhard Dietrich, *Kleinasiatische Stickereien*, Plauen, 1911; F. R. Martin, *Stickereien aus dem Orient*, Stockholm, 1897; *A Brief Guide to Turkish Woven Fabrics*, Victoria and Albert Museum, Department of Textiles, London, 1923; Louisa F. Pesel, *Stitches from Eastern Embroidery*, Portfolio No. 2, London, 1921; Louisa F. Pesel and E. W. Newberry, *A Book of Old Embroidery* (with articles by A. F. Kendrick), edited by Geoffrey Holme, *The Studio*, London, 1921; Louisa F. Pesel, *The So-Called Yannina Embroideries*, in *The Burlington Magazine*, London, April, 1907; R. P. Poidebard, *Anciennes Broderies Armeniennes*, in *Revue des Etudes Armeniennes*, IX, Paris, 1929; and George Leland Hunter, *Decorative Textiles*, Philadelphia, 1918.

3. Mrs. Ramsay's observation on this point is typical of the experience of many other visitors to Turkish homes. She said, "Once when I was visiting some Turkish ladies, they displayed for my entertainment, among their knick-knacks and other treasured pretty things, a torn scrap of a Russian newspaper, which they kept in a box wrapped in innumerable folds of silk and gauze. They asked me to read it, which I was unable to do; and then they inquired if it contained any holy words. I thought it very unlikely; but of course I didn't know and said so; and they enfolded it once more in its wrappers of silk, and put it carefully away." Mrs. W. M. Ramsay, *Everyday Life in Turkey*, London, 1897, p. 100.

4. I have not seen the mantle, but this information is vouchsafed correct by two persons of my acquaintance who have seen it as well as by many authors of descriptions of the Ramazan ceremonies.

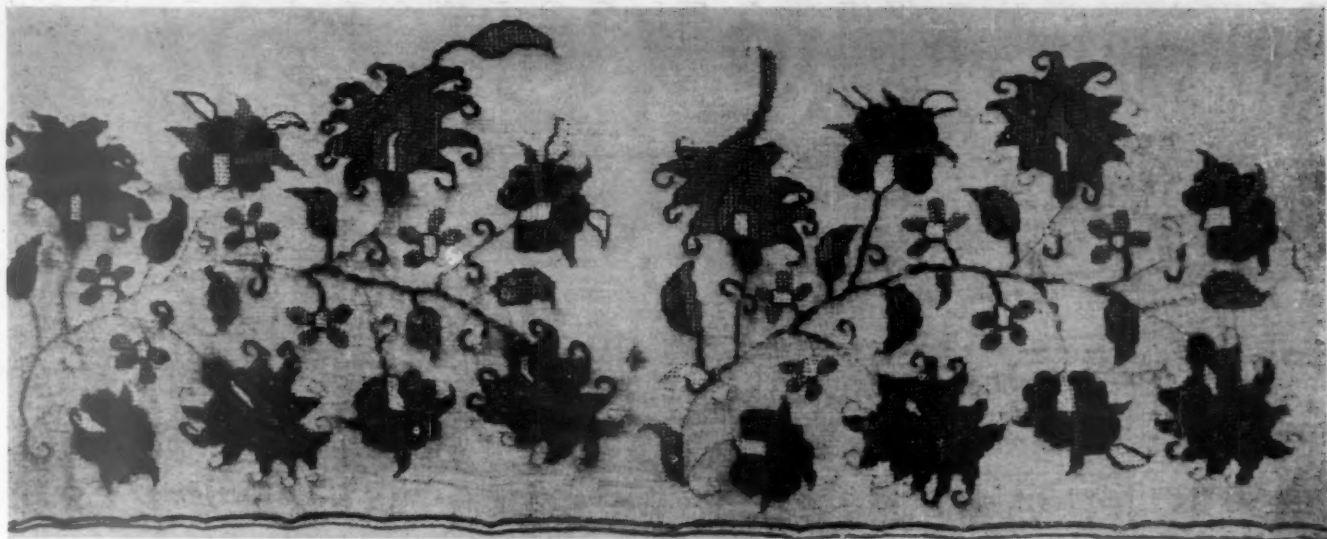


FIG. 1—Istanbul, Collection of Emine Hanum: *Embroidery Design on a Seventeenth Century Turkish Towel*
(Detail)

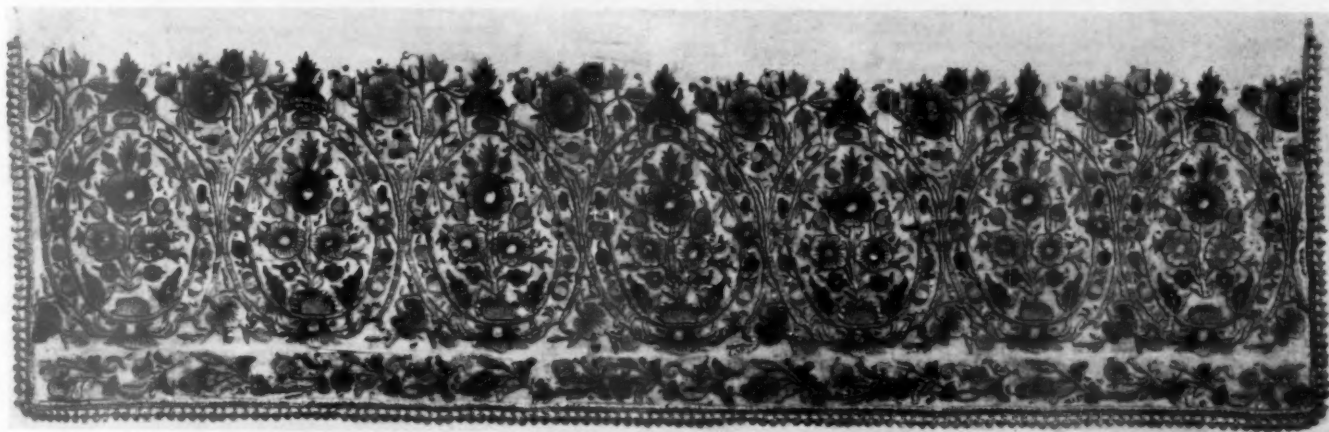


FIG. 2—Chicago, Art Institute: *Embroidered End of an Eighteenth Century Turkish Towel*

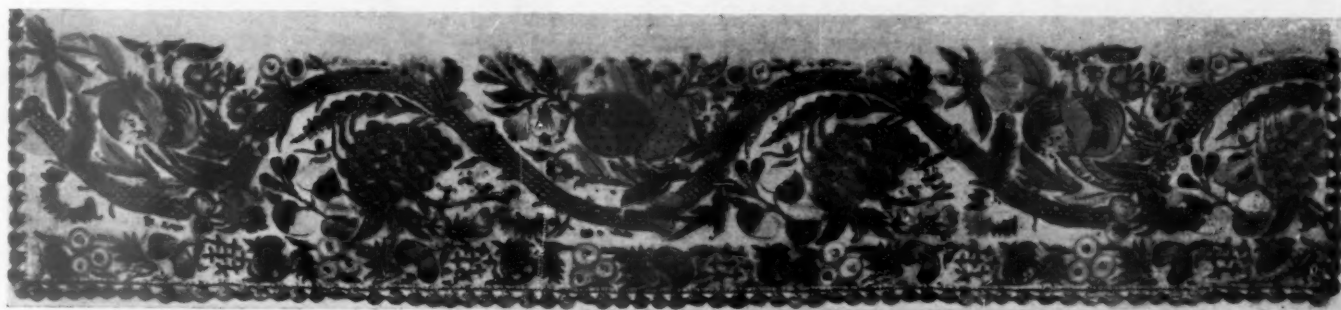


FIG. 3—Chicago, Art Institute: *Embroidered End of an Eighteenth Century Turkish Towel*



FIG. 4—Istanbul, Collection of Hadji Osman Effendi: Embroidered End of an Eighteenth Century Turkish Towel, Enriched by Metal Tinsel

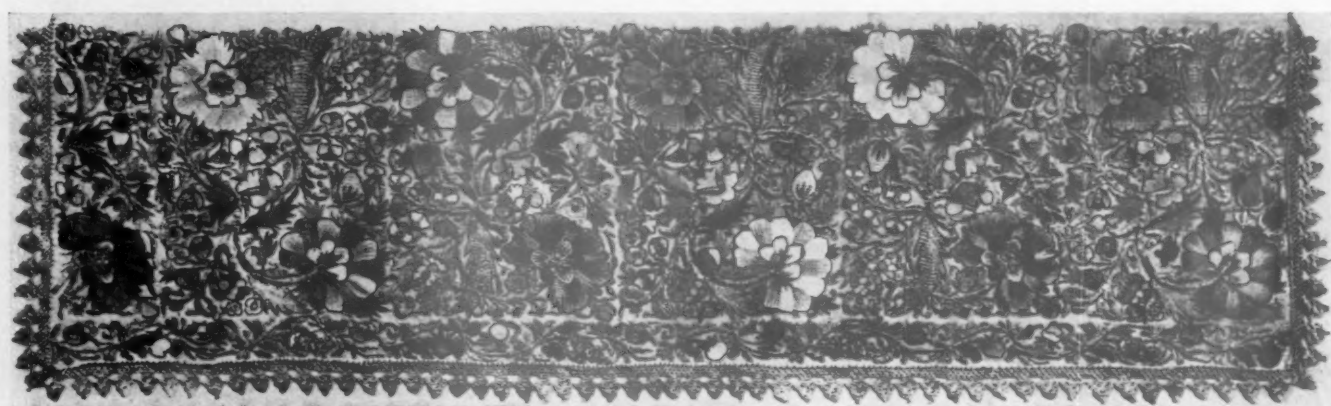


FIG. 5—Istanbul, Collection of Burton Yost Berry: Embroidered End of an Eighteenth Century Turkish Towel



FIG. 6—Istanbul, Collection of Burton Yost Berry: Embroidered End of an Eighteenth Century Turkish Towel

Another object of Moslem veneration, the Caaba at Mecca, is covered with cotton cloth a border of which is richly embroidered in letters of gold.

The people of the Near East used embroidered wrappers, or napkins, or towels, as they are variously called, to encase precious things much after the same manner that the Europeans during the Middle Ages used reliquaries of beaten gold or silver enriched with polished but uncut stones. If one likes comparisons, and in the East comparisons are much more likely to be flattering than odious, it is easily imagined that the silk wrappers are fittingly substituted for the more primitive metal containers and that the embroideries outshine the gems. These people of the East, having acquired the habit of associating embroidered scarves with every object that was beautiful and precious to them, also came to associate the scarves with certain momentous occasions in their lives. But before considering these occasions let us give a little attention to the material features of the scarves, or towels.

The towels are bands of cloth ornamented with embroidery at both ends. They vary considerably in size. In my experience in handling some fourteen thousand pieces⁵ the narrowest piece that I have seen measured nine inches across while the broadest was forty-two inches in width. In length the towels vary from two to fourteen feet. The embroidery work, in medallions or a solid band, always extends the width of the towel across each end. It is from two to twenty inches deep, the depth usually being in direct proportion to the length of the towel. In size, design, color, and workmanship no two towels are exactly alike.

The most of the seventeenth century towels that I have seen are woven from linen thread. Those that are not of pure linen are made from silk and linen or cotton and linen threads. In the best of the eighteenth century pieces that I have handled the warp and weft are finely spun cotton threads which have been woven into cloth on a small hand loom. The nineteenth century towels are numerically about evenly divided between the pure linen and the pure cotton groups.

The cotton cloth that was used during the eighteenth century—and to me it is the most interesting toweling, due as much to the fact that it is dissimilar to any other cloth that I have seen as to the circumstance that the most beautiful embroidery is invariably worked on it—is in appearance of the same texture and transparency as veiling. In strength and durability it resembles drilling, although to the touch it has the feel of fine old linen which has been softened by many launderings. In Turkey this material is known as *bez* and the extra fine quality is called *tulbend bezi* or *yazma*.

Perhaps one of the most amazing features of this soft and apparently fragile material is the weight that it is able to support without injury. It is not unusual for the weight of the basic material of a towel which measures ten or twelve feet in length to underweigh by fifty or sixty times the two ends which are embroidered with silk and metal thread to a depth of eight or nine inches. Curiously enough this heavy and intricately worked

5. Included in this figure are all of the towels which I have seen in two years in the bazaars and homes in Turkey. In the search of towels and information pertinent to their origins, uses, designs, and stitching I visited the markets of Adana, Amasya, Ankara, Antalya, Bodrum, Bursa,

Çanak Kale, Çorum, Edirne (Adrianople), Fetiye, İzmir (Smyrna), Kayseri, Kulluk, Mersin, Merzifun, Rhodes (Dodecanese), Sivas, Tarsus, and Tokat. The markets of Istanbul (Constantinople) I make a point of visiting three or four times each week.

embroidery seldom appears to have pulled apart or otherwise damaged the threads of the basic material. In fact the only places where the toweling is so injured is in those places where a coarse metal tinsel has been punched through the fabric. In such places the sharp edges of the tinsel often have cut through the soft toweling.

That loosely woven, rough, tufted cotton cloth which we in America are accustomed to call Turkish toweling did not exist in Turkey in the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries. Such stuff was not used in Turkey before the latter half of the nineteenth century.

The places of origin of many, but by no means all, Turkish towels are recognizable with greater accuracy by the stitching than by the design. Thus, towels coming from Brusa usually bear a large amount of coarse open metal work. This work is made without the use of a needle by passing tinsel strips from one side of the toweling through to the other side and back to a point near the starting point. The strip of tinsel is then pulled tight, thereby drawing together the threads of the basic material and completing the stitch with a knot. The completed work is transparent, metallic and identical in appearance on both sides. It has the appearance and suppleness of fine mesh screen wire. Although the use of this type of stitch is not restricted to embroideries coming from the Brusa region, yet work originating in Brusa usually bears a very large amount of it. The Brusa towels in addition to the stitch just described also are ornamented by flowers executed in the usual "embroiderers' stitch."

Other towels, originating in Malatia, and some coming also from Marash, are identified by a type of chain stitch different from that stitch as used in any other community.⁶ The use of the chain stitch in these localities is not restricted to silk threads but is used equally generally for metal threads.

I have a theory that many a towel of the finest workmanship executed in floral patterns with the "embroiders' stitch" had its inspiration, if not its origin, in Constantinople. The graceful subtlety of the outline of the patterns in some eighteenth century pieces, the charm of the harmoniously blended colors, and, more important still, the meticulousity of the execution could not, it seems to me, have come out of the uninspiring atmosphere of the provincial villages. It seems only probable that such finery was made in and for the luxury of the capital.

In Merzifun I bought a piece of this fine work, which I am accustomed to call "Stambul" work. Surprised to have found such a lovely thing in such an out-of-the-way place, I inquired the name of the former owner from the merchant from whom I had purchased it. He referred me to a locally prominent family whom I later called on. In the course of the interview the members of the family told me that the towel had been family property for as long as any of them could remember. They also told me that their family in Merzifun dated from about one hundred and fifty years ago, at which time one of their forefathers had been exiled there. They did not say so, but it is my opinion that the piece which I had just purchased was brought to Merzifun from the capital with the household of the exiled family. This is, I think, a probable explanation of the finding of this, and many another, beautiful piece of Turkish embroidery in an out-of-the-way corner.

6. See, for a discussion of the Armenian work of these cities, R. P. Poidebard, *Anciennes Broderies Armeniennes*,

in *Revue des Etudes Armeniennes*, IX, p. 239. The illustrations to the article are particularly noteworthy.

In addition to the "embroiderers' stitch," the chain stitch, and the Brusa stitch, the makers of Turkish towels used, following their own taste, the darning stitch, the running stitch, and the tent stitch. In the older pieces the darning stitch was more prominently used than in later times, although the finest workmanship was done with the "embroiderers' stitch" in the eighteenth century. Many embroiderers of towels in order to heighten the beauty of their work varied the workmanship by introducing at various points in the design different types of stitching. Thus a single piece often has two or three different types of stitches used in the making of its decorative embroidery.

One's first thoughts in finding an old towel are to determine its probable age and to ascertain the most likely place of its origin. The first problem is the easier of the two. In solving it we are aided by our knowledge as to the respective dates that new colors were introduced into Turkish embroidery work. We also know that the three centuries which marked the beginning, the acme, and the decadence of the art of embroidery in Turkey, as that art is represented in the towels that one sees to-day, were marked by the simplicity, the complexity, and the confusion of pattern *motifs*.

We recognize the seventeenth century towels by the simplicity of the design of the embroidery work. The pattern is usually a single unit repeated sufficiently often to fill the desired space. Thus, each end of a fine old piece now in the Evkaf museum at Constantinople is ornamented by a row of oval forms, in shape and size not unlike eggs. Another piece of the same period is decorated with a lyre pattern, and still others of this epoch are decorated with medallions, conventional flowers, and sprays of flowers and leaves.

In the late seventeenth century and early eighteenth less conventional and more graceful designs began to be used. The rigid stem of a spray of flowers was permitted to curve gently and the sprays, which formerly were placed quite separately one from the other, were made by the skillful use of the embroiderers' needle to interlace and intertwine. A good example of the work of this period is shown in Fig. 1. Here the fundamental conventional rules of the preceding century are still observed, but the urge of the times for less rigidity and more grace apparently was felt by the embroiderer, who in repeating the design varied it slightly. He also made an effort to unite the two sprays into a single group thus making each end of the towel a complete composition rather than, as was formerly the practice, using it as a place for embroidering several compositions or one composition repeated several times.⁷ Although the towel illustrated here is typical of the Anatolian towels of the early eighteenth century it, as a type, because of the stitches and the shades of colors used, is often confused with the work of Yannina, where similar shades and a like stitch were employed a century earlier.⁸

7. Fig. 2 illustrates how a seventeenth century design, composed of a repeated conventionalized floral group, was modernized in an eighteenth century towel by surrounding each group with ovals embroidered in gold thread and linking the ovals into a single band by adding flowers and leaves. Figs. 3, 4, 5 (8), 9 (10) successively illustrate the development of the design away from the conventionalized patterns of the seventeenth century to a point where, in the towel illustrated by Figs. 9 and 10, the seventeenth

century influence has disappeared. The towel represented by Figs. 5 and 8 surpasses in richness of design and fineness of workmanship all others that I have seen. No tinsel has been used on this piece. The crocheted border and stains are interesting.

8. For a discussion of Yannina work and its imitations see Louisa F. Pesel, *The So-Called Yannina Embroideries*, in *The Burlington Magazine*, April, 1907, p. 33.

As the eighteenth century grew older the patterns of the embroidery work on the towels grew more flamboyant. Simple rows of medallions were interlaced with garlands of flowers and festoons of leaves. Intricately worked embroidery in gold thread, representing streamers of gold ribbon, was placed in every undecorated space. And as the design increased in complexity so also did the shading of the colors of the embroidery work become refined. Each petal of every flower was, as in nature, colored a deep tone near the base, shading off gradually into lighter tones near the edges. Veins of the leaves were traced in needlework and the use of perspective, by means of deepening the shades and lessening the size of far removed objects, was introduced to make distance and depth felt.⁹

The nineteenth century saw the patterns of the eighteenth century becoming increasingly heavy with ornate additions. The spring and grace of the earlier *motifs* were sacrificed to a mass of studied elaborateness. The noble rhythm of the old patterns was supplanted by a jumbled confusion of flowers, leaves, and miscellaneous objects. Likewise, the soft gold thread of the earlier period was replaced by showy metal tinsel and the pastel shades by harsher, ruder colors. The nineteenth century marked, in both pattern and color, a new and coarse era in the history of embroidered Turkish towels (cf. Fig. 11—note the coarse basic material).

I have found it nearly impossible by examining the pattern to ascertain with any degree of accuracy the place of origin of a towel. It is comparatively easy to recognize the workmanship of Rhodes, Yannina, or of some of the Armenian centers, as Marash and Malatia. It is also easy to generalize and suggest that Turkish embroidery work originating in Thrace and the Black Sea regions bears traces of Byzantine influence; that the work done in the lands of the former Seljuk kings received its inspiration from Seljuk sources; and that the work ornamented by birds, beings, and the tree of life is Persian in influence.¹⁰ It is impossible, however, to be sure that any given type of towel bearing a certain design of embroidery, was made only in a single place, if one makes the statement upon his supposition that the design in question was localized in the district named. Patterns on towels, which in an earlier era may have been localized, had lost their local stamp by the beginning of the seventeenth century.

In an attempt, from the pattern of embroidery work, to classify towels as to their place of origin I examined practically every bale of towels that arrived in Constantinople in the course of the winter of 1929. The bazaar merchants after looking through a bale kept its contents intact until I had the opportunity of examining it. I questioned the man who collected and sold the towels as to where he had found them in an effort to see if I could come upon a scheme for classifying them geographically. The results of my winter's work were purely negative, that is to say, towels bearing a *motif* of, let us say, boats and fish would turn up in Adrianople and others bearing quite similar *motifs* would be brought to Constantinople from Erzerum or Konia.

In the course of my observations made during that winter and those made during subsequent trips into Anatolia I came to the conclusion that certain flowers such as the

9. The towel illustrated in Fig. 4 shows the veining of the leaves and petals as well as the refined use of shading.

10. Migeon, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 281 ff.; and Saladin, *op. cit.*, I, 8-17, discuss generally this subject.

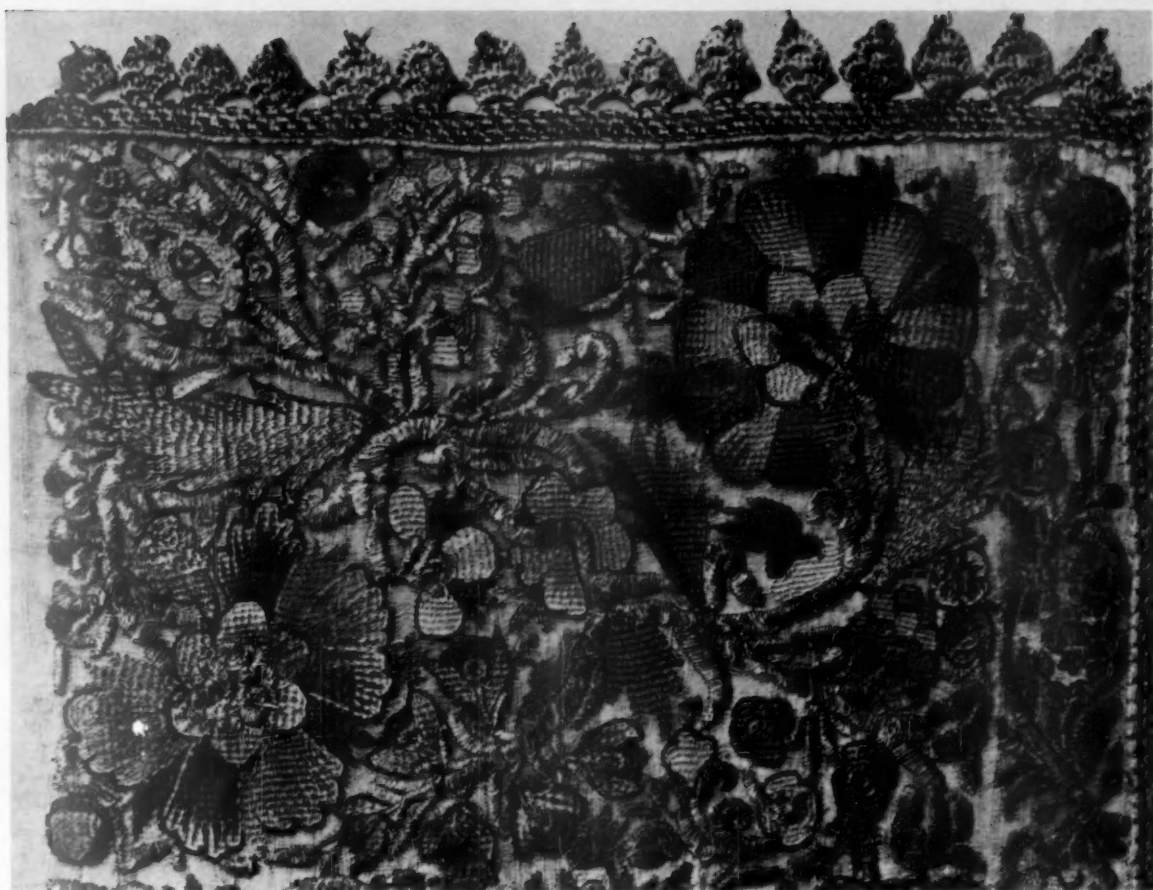


FIG. 8—Istanbul, Collection of Burton Yost Berry:
Detail of Embroidery Shown in Fig. 5



FIG. 7—Istanbul, Collection of Hadji Osman Effendi:
Detail of Embroidery Shown in Fig. 4

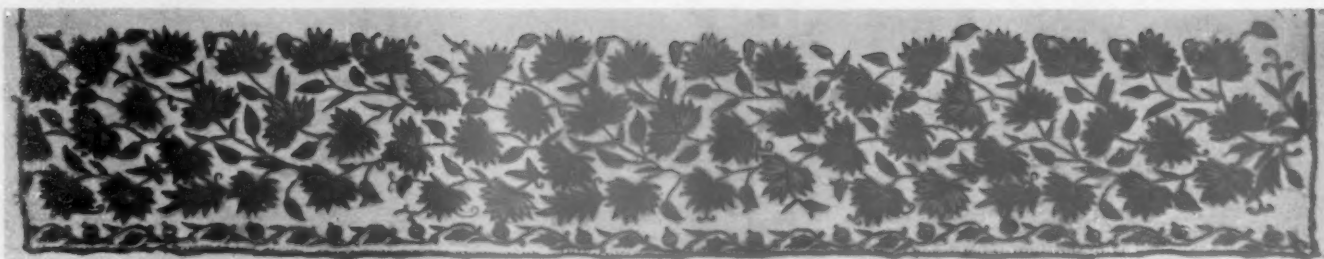


FIG. 9—Istanbul, Collection of Mr. Harry Mandil: Embroidered End of a
Late Eighteenth Century Turkish Towel



FIG. 10—Istanbul, Collection of Mr. Harry Mandil: Detail of Embroidery
Shown in Fig. 9



FIG. 11—Istanbul, Collection of Burton Yost Berry: Embroidered End of a
Nineteenth Century Turkish Towel

tulip or the hyacinth were not, as has previously been claimed, exclusively used in, or even characteristic of, the work of any certain locality. All the flowers of the fields seemed to enjoy wide-spread popularity, the rose, the tulip, the hyacinth, and the pink being universally the most popular. Likewise, birds and other animal life appear in embroidery work coming from one locality as frequently as in that from another. Towel patterns, I concluded, were matters of individual taste rather than the subjects of local traditions.

In the seventeenth century the first weavers of Turkish towels enhanced the beauty of their articles by a bit of embroidery at the ends. This embroidery was done in white, red, or blue with silk, cotton, or wool threads. Occasionally a little black was added near the white to bring the latter into relief. The shades of white, being made with undyed material, vary with the material used from a glistening white, where silk threads are used, through several tones of dull whites, where the embroiderer used cotton or a mixture of cotton and silk threads, to a pearl gray where the threads are of finely spun wool.

In the oldest of the seventeenth century towels the red is always a clear, limpid color. This was obtained and is still obtained in Turkey from madder root. In order to prepare the material for this dye the goods are soaked in some fatty substance for several days. In Brusa I have seen rancid olive oil used for this purpose but I have been told that sour milk serves equally well. Afterwards it is thoroughly dried and then immersed in an alum bath followed by a lime-water bath. This series of operations is repeated several times over a period of two or three weeks, when the material, which by this time is thoroughly mordanted, is boiled for hours in a bath containing finely ground madder root. The loose foreign material is later washed away by a soapy bath and the color brightened to the desired shade by a succession of soapy and clear water baths.

The blue is always fresh and clear. This color was obtained from any of the several plants of the indigofera family which are found in Turkey. The juices of these plants, which are yellow when fresh, turn blue when exposed to the air. Cloth stained blue with this dye keeps the same clear, bright shades through years of hard usage.

Black is the most unsatisfactory color found in old embroidery work. The black dye is obtained by immersing scraps of old iron in a barrel of vinegar and water and leaving the iron to be dissolved by the acid.¹¹ When the solution is sufficiently strong the dyer soaks the material which he wishes to dye black in the solution, causing as much of it to be absorbed as is possible. The goods are then rinsed, and then lightly washed in a solution of water and wood ashes, and finally shaken out to dry. The density of the color depends upon the amount of iron in the solution and the number and length of the immersions. This process of dyeing has two disadvantages: first, the color obtained fades readily from black to russet brown and later deep tan; and second, the strength of the acid shortens the life of the fabric. Thus, black threads soon wear down or become brittle and break away from the other embroidery work.

While I was in Tokat I was shown a seventeenth century towel on which all of the white embroidery was edged in black. But this black instead of being a dull, lifeless color was strong and shiny. It occurred to me that the maker of this piece had hit upon some new

11. In Antalya I saw fishermen dyeing sails in a mineral dye made by dissolving bits of scrap iron in

sheeps' urine. The color obtained from one immersion was reddish brown.

black dye until I examined the work under a microscope and saw that the black thread was really fine black hairs. Later I was told that it was a fairly common practice for Kurdish girls of the region to use their own hair in decorating their embroidery work.

Early in the eighteenth century other colors were introduced into the embroidery work on Turkish towels. Among the first observed are pale greens, and dull cinnamons similar in shade to the same colors used in the earlier Yannina work. Next came the yellows, browns, and deep blues, the latter introducing the custom of deepening the hue and thus making gradations in the tone of basic colors. This usage was developed to its highest point by the middle of the eighteenth century. At this time the beauty of the embroidered towels was enhanced by more elaborate designs, often interlaced garlands of flowers, worked in delicate pastel shades. In some of the finest pieces of this period I have counted twenty different colors, all harmonizing beautifully. Many secondary shades serve the two purposes of enriching the work and bringing into prominence the surrounding embroidery by appearing to cast shadows about it.

It was also in the eighteenth century—the high point of Turkish embroidery art—that metal thread was first used to embellish embroidered towel ends. The metal thread of this period, either silver or gold colored, consisted in reality of tiny metal filaments twisted about a silk thread. Thus the illusion of metal was secured without losing the suppleness of silk. In the case of silver colored thread the filament was of silver, while in the case of gold colored thread the filament was silver washed in gold.

While in the bazaars of Istanbul one afternoon I found a piece of an eighteenth century towel which was heavily embroidered with gold and, it being a fragment, I determined to destroy it in order to salvage the metal. I had the piece burnt, and the particles of metal when collected and analyzed showed that the metal content of the thread was 90% silver and 10% gold. This piece, I may add, would have passed as one embroidered with thread of pure gold.

The late eighteenth century, and more commonly the nineteenth, saw used in the decoration of Turkish towels an open-work embroidery not made with a needle but created by pulling thin strips of metal through the basic material. In the finer towels these metal strips are of pure silver or silver washed in gold. In the more common ones the strips are of copper which has been dipped in silver. Bits of this kind of embroidery occur in all types of old Turkish towels, but it is particularly prevalent in the embroideries which I have seen in the city and vicinity of Brusa. Commercially, towels having a considerable amount of tinsel embroidery work are known locally as Brusa towels.

The ceremonial use of an embroidered towel, or "napkin," as it is sometimes called, is a Turkish heritage from Byzantine days. Writers of the Byzantine period recall that most frequently of all the times that towels figured in the lives of the people of Byzantium was at the Hippodrome on a festival day, when the Emperor surrounded by his protectors and his civilian suite went there and, from the imperial box, threw the official starting napkin onto the course and thereby started the races.¹²

12. Alfred Rambaud, *Etudes sur l'Histoire Byzantine*, Paris, 1922; William Stearns Davis, *The Beauty of the*

Purple, New York, 1924, p. 168; one should also read one of the editions of the Byzantine *Livre des Ceremonies*.

I have found no reference in Turkish history to the use of an embroidered towel for the opening of a contest but travelers have recorded that they were used in other ways at athletic matches. De Busbecq, for one, wrote in 1562:

"At their Easter Festival—for the Turks, like us, have an Easter—some of them meet on the great plain above Pera, and there, seated in a long line with their legs crossed like tailors in our country, which is the usual mode of sitting in Turkey, they first offer the prayers with which the Turk prefaces all his undertakings, and then try who can shoot the farthest. The competition is carried out in a most orderly manner and in complete silence, in spite of the huge crowd of spectators. The bows which they use on this occasion are very short, and therefore very stiff, and can only be bent by archers who are very well trained. They also have special arrows. The reward of victory is an embroidered towel . . ."¹³

The Sultan's use of an embroidered towel at the palace as a sign of his favor is described by many writers on the subject of the palace life. One such has dramatically described the ceremony thus:

"Slowly, the gold fringed velvet curtains were drawn aside, and, appearing as pale as wax with his eyes so melancholy that they gave to his face an indefinable expression of gentleness and kindness, the Sultan appeared.

L'Ibrikdji-bachi followed him carrying a marvelously embroidered towel. It was a ceremonial day of Ramazan which was about to terminate with the Night of Power when, in accordance with the Mussulman custom, the Commander of the Faithful takes a new wife. Abdul-Medjid, who was about to choose from the young women present in the room, looked at them one after the other, and on the second turn, the Ibrikdji-bachi threw the towel over the shoulders of the girl called Arminé.

That indicated that Arminé was chosen for the queen of that night."¹⁴

This description, although probably overdrawn, is substantially historically correct. It was the custom in old Turkey for the bride to be given a *distinctively* embroidered towel on the day of her wedding. The towel was hers to use on her wedding night and to preserve, usually unlaundered, as evidence of the complete consummation of the marriage. And for the wife a very important bit of evidence it was in a country where, under the Koranic law, a husband had the right to return his bride at once to the home of her parents if he was dissatisfied with her. The towel, distinguishable by its embroidery, could at any time be identified by the marriage witnesses in the event of a complaint by either marriage party.

The use of embroidered towels at the table has been remarked by many travelers in Turkey. Lady Montagu in 1718 said enthusiastically of them, in one of her letters written to a friend:

13. Edward Seymour Foster, *The Turkish Letters of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq*, Oxford, 1924, p. 134.

14. Ernest Leroux, *De Sultan Medjid*, Paris, p. 64; Fairfax Downey, *The Grande Turk*, New York, 1929; etc. Lady Montagu in her letter of March 10, 1718, to

the Countess of . . . doubts this custom. Nevertheless, it is historically correct that such a ceremony did take place throughout a number of years although, it being good material for novelists, it has doubtless been "played up" in most descriptions.

" . . . I went to see the Sultana Hafiten, favourite of the late Emperor Mustapha, who you know (or perhaps you don't know) was deposed by his brother, the reigning Sultan Achmet, and died a few weeks after, being poisoned, as it was generally believed. . . .

. . . She gave me a dinner of fifty dishes of meat, which (after their fashion) were placed on the table but one at a time, and was extremely tedious. But the magnificence of her table answered very well to that of her dress. The knives were of gold, the hafts set with diamonds. But the piece of luxury that grieved my eyes was the table-cloth and napkins, which are all tiffany, embroidered with silks and gold, in the finest manner, in natural flowers. It was with the utmost regret that I made use of these costly napkins, as finely wrought as the finest handkerchiefs that ever came out of this country. You may be sure, that they were entirely spoiled before dinner was over. The sherbet (which is the liquor they drink at meals) was served in china bowls; but the covers and salvers massy gold. After dinner, water was brought in a gold basin, and towels of the same kind of the napkins, which I very unwillingly wiped my hands upon; and coffee was served in china, with gold soucoupes."¹⁵

Over a century later Miss Pardoe in reporting her impressions of a meal in a Turkish house wrote:

"As soon as the serious business of the repast really commenced, that is, when we had each possessed ourselves of a cushion, and squatted down with our feet under us round the dinner tray, having on our laps linen napkins of about two yards in length richly fringed, the room was literally filled with slaves, 'black, white, and gray,' from nine years old to fifty.

As we rose from table, a slave presented herself, holding a basin and strainer of wrought metal, while a second poured tepid water over our hands from an elegantly-formed vase of the same materials; and a third handed to us embroidered napkins of great beauty, of which I really availed myself with reluctance."¹⁶

Still three quarters of a century later Mrs. Ramsay told thus of a Turkish meal at which she assisted during the month of Ramazan:

"By this time it was nearly four o'clock, and, as I had eaten nothing since six except a few olives, a little honey, and a slice of water-melon, I observed with thankfulness that preparations were being made for dinner. The Turkish table-cloth is put under the table, not on it. In this case the

15. *Letters from the Right Honourable Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, 1709 to 1762*, London; in her letter of March 10, 1718, addressed to the Countess of . . . As has been pointed out by H. G. Dwight, *Constantinople: Settings and Traits*, New York, 1926, p. 519, washing does not injure these old towels.

16. Miss Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan and Domestic Manners of the Turks in 1836*, London, 1838, I, pp. 22, 24,

110, 223, and 224; Frances Elliot, *Diary of an Idle Woman in Constantinople*, Leipzig, 1893, p. 253; Demetra Vaka, *Haremlik*, Paris, 1913, p. 165; D. M. . . . d'Ohsson, *Tableau General de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris, 1790, pp. 11, 109. This use of the embroidered towel can still be observed by visitors to-day to conservative Turkish homes in Anatolia.

cloth was of patchwork, like a quilt, and was spread near the upper end of the room. On it was placed a four-legged stool turned upside down, and upon this was laid a large round metal tray about three feet in diameter, round the edge of which was piled bread, like thick scones in appearance, and most tempting to a hungry woman . . . the tall one [dancing girl] . . . made herself useful in carrying round the basin, ewer, and napkins, for the guests to wash their hands. Then my hostess of the morning and other devoutly disposed ladies called for prayer-carpets and their veils, and said their prayers before dining.

Pillows were placed round the table and the guests took their places, sitting Turkish fashion, a position that soon becomes irksome to those who are not accustomed to it. A narrow napkin, many yards in length and with finely embroidered borders, encircled the table, lying in loose folds on the knees of the diners, who were twelve in number, including the old lady of the house. Her two daughters-in-law waited on us, assisted by their servants and the dancing girls."¹⁷

The custom of the people seems also to have been the custom of the Sultan, for he, according to William Turner, offered those he received the same hospitality with the same accompaniments as was offered to guests in the humblest homes. Mr. Turner's description of an ambassador's reception is noteworthy. He wrote:

"Previously to their appearance, the kaimakam had sent a letter to the Sultan, stating, in what I was informed was the usual style, that an infidel ambassador was come to throw himself at his highness's feet; and at the end of the mock trials, the royal answer was announced, which the kaimakam rose and advanced to receive. It was enclosed in an envelope; and when this was stripped off, there appeared a quantity of muslin, in which the letter was wrapped. The kaimakam, as he took off the seals, gave them to the bearers of the letter, who kissed them, applied them to their forehead, and pocketed them. He himself, taking the letter out of its muslin folds, kissed it, and applied it to his forehead before he read it. The accustomed tenour of this letter was, as I was told, a command to 'feed, wash, and clothe the infidels, and bring them to him.' As soon as the kaimakam had finished reading (at half-past eight), two tables were laid (i. e., two very large plates of tin, laid on a reversed stool, round which we sat, with embroidered towels spread on our knees), one for the kaimakam and the ambassador, the other for the gentlemen of the embassy."¹⁸

Embroidered towels, besides having a particular significance in the program of public contests and in Turkish homes at births, circumcisions, and marriages, and besides having a more commonplace use in the home before and during each meal, were also used to

17. Mrs. W. M. Ramsay, *op. cit.*, pp. 148-149.

18. William Turner, *Journal of a Tour in the Levant*, London, 1820; I, p. 56.

decorate the home and person.¹⁹ Girls and women used them while they were in their homes or at the bath to cover their hair.²⁰ They also used them in public as scarves.²¹ They were used to cover more delicate objects that were put away in chests.²² Some were made to be given away as gifts,²³ and others were placed over the headstones at the graves of deceased women.²⁴ In short, the embroidered towel was present at every important event in the life of a Turkish woman from the day of her birth until and including the day of her death.²⁵

19. For an interesting description of the ceremony of circumcision see, *Anecdotes, ou Histoire Secrete de la Maisone Ottomane*, published anonymously at Amsterdam in 1722, VIII, p. 144. For the use of towels in decorating a room see Miss Pardoe, *op. cit.*, I, p. 17, III, p. 172; and Louis Rambert, *Notes et Impressions de Turquie*, Paris, p. 217. For their use at marriages (Greek) see Mrs. W. M. Ramsay, *op. cit.*, p. 118; and in the trousseau, Kesnin Bey, *Le Mal d'Orient*, Paris, 1886, p. 32; Miss Pardoe, *op. cit.*, II, p. 154; G. Dorys, *La Femme Turque*, Paris, 1902, pp. 206, 214; and R. P. Poidebard, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

20. Miss Pardoe, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 127, 170, 235.

21. Visitors to the Military Museum (St. Irene) in Constantinople will observe in the upper gallery the wax figure of a girl dressed in a native costume and wearing an embroidered scarf.

22. In the homes, in the street, in the bath, and in fact everywhere in Turkey large square towels are used to wrap up smaller articles.

23. Miss Pardoe, *op. cit.*, III, p. 66.

24. Every visitor to the turbeh of a Turkish woman has noticed that a veil is thrown over the headstone. Miss Pardoe mentioned this custom: I, p. 39; II, pp. 35, 192-193.

25. It is a mooted question as to whether most of the

towels were made in the harems by women or in the bazaars by men. Charles MacFarland, *Turkey and its Destiny*, London, 1850, II, p. 255, gave the credit of making them to Armenian men. This theory is strengthened somewhat by the fact that some of the finest embroideries that are being made to-day are worked by men. See, Florence H. Morden, *House-Boat Days in the Vale of Kashmir*, in *The National Geographic Magazine*, October, 1929. Even Miss Pardoe mentioned having bought embroidered linen in the bazaars (I, p. 36), although later (III, p. 109), she wrote of having seen the women of the harem doing this type of needlework. And most authors agree that the embroideries are, for the most part, works of the household rather than of commerce. See, for example, Demetra Vaka, *op. cit.*, p. 27; G. Dorys, *op. cit.*, pp. 60, 273; Pierre Loti, *Les Desenchantées*, Paris, 1924, p. 277. I have asked scores of people *why* and *where* the towels were made. The answer has always been: "They were made in the home for domestic use." Oftentimes my informants added, "And they were all embroidered by maidens, for married women and spinsters could never work into the embroideries the delicate tints of youth." Probably the real reasons why the work was done by girls are: first, their eyes had the strength and the keenness to do the fine needlework, and, second, in making these towels each girl was really making preparations for her own marriage.

GREEK ORTHODOX VESTMENTS AND ECCLESIASTICAL FABRICS

BY RUDOLF M. RIEFSTAHL*

BYZANTINE art is by no means dead after the conquest of Constantinople. The Orthodox communities within the Ottoman empire formed the "Greek *Millet*," the Greek nation which was, however, not a national but a religious unit and comprised Greeks, Serbians, Bulgarians, and Roumanians as far as they lived under the scepter of the Sultan. These communities administered their own laws for marriage, inheritance, etc., just as the believers were ruled by the Sheriat.

The monastic settlements of Mount Athos submitted to the Sultan and were practically not molested. Mount Athos was certainly one of the liveliest centers in which Byzantine tradition was continued. The only limitation to the religious liberties seems to have been that any outward ostentation was not tolerated. There was even a good deal of church building during the Ottoman rule. The churches built at this time are very often large and spacious but they are generally hidden from the street. Nevertheless, the situation in which the Orthodox church found itself under Turkish rule did not allow of any creative development. The art of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries shows a gradual weakening of the old tradition, and if there is any change it is caused by the influx of Italian motives and elements of style. This Italian influence had many possibilities of penetrating the art of the Greeks; even after the Turks had wrested all the islands of the Archipelago from the hands of the Venetians, commercial intercourse continued during peace time, and with it exchange of artistic suggestions. On the prosperous island of Patmos, for instance, numerous pieces of furniture (chests, large tables, etc.) have been found which are somewhat awkward copies of Italian Renaissance furniture of the sumptuous decorated type.¹ In the icon painting, in the decoration of books, in the carving of the iconostases Renaissance and later baroque motives intruded, leading to a gradual but complete decay of Byzantine tradition. Italian influences, however, began to enter Byzantine art at a much earlier period. Mosaics such as those of Kahrie Djami show already the influence of Italian primitives, and among the textiles studied below Italian influence is not impossible.

*I am greatly obliged to Mr. L. Earle Rowe, Director of the Rhode Island School of Design, for permission to publish the fabrics belonging to his museum. Special thanks are due to Mr. William D. Fales, head of the department of textiles, and Mr. Sidney I. Reichart, instructor of chemistry, both of the same institution, who were kind enough to analyze the fibers of the fabrics belonging to the Rhode Island School of Design. I also

owe thanks to the R. F. G. de Jerphanion, S. J., professor at the Pontifical Oriental Institute in Rome, and to Signorina Margherita Guarducci, who very kindly assisted me by study and reading of the Greek inscriptions. The R. F. de Jerphanion furthermore gave me valuable advice in the field of iconography.

1. I saw interesting specimens in the collection of Lady Whittall in Moda, near Constantinople.

We know a whole series of Italian fabrics with representations of saints and biblical scenes interwoven with gold, which were intended to be cut up, the single units of the design to be used not only for the decoration of vestments but even for antependia, etc. The earlier group of these fabrics, perhaps still of the fourteenth century, is assigned to Lucca, the later group to Florence.² Florentine origin is made certain by the close relation of some of the designs to the style of Ghirlandaio, and the inscription "*verbum haro fatum est*" on one of these fabrics has a delightful touch of Florentine dialect. Others of these fabrics decorated with figures may have been woven in Venice. All are of course a cheaper substitute for needlework. (The same is without doubt true of the corresponding Greek fabrics.) I have never found any proof that such Italian religious figure fabrics were imported into the Near East, but the contacts between the Levant and Italy were so frequent that an influence might be perfectly possible. The majority of these fabrics show metal thread. In the earlier ones³ we find still the mediaeval metal thread consisting of a core of fiber (silk or linen) spirally wound with a strip of gilt leather, while in the later ones⁴ we observe a linen core spirally wound with silver wire, i. e., the same metal wire as in our Eastern fabrics. Some of the designs are woven running parallel with the warp, in others the design runs parallel with the weft. The variation of the arrangement was probably dictated by the size of the subject and is a certain proof that the fabric once woven was destined to be cut up. This explains why in certain of these fabrics the gold runs parallel with the subject, in others vertically to it. Among the subjects we note figures of saints under baldachins in the earliest specimens. Later subjects are flying angels carrying the instruments of the torture of Christ, the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Resurrection, Mary as Queen of Heaven, angels surrounding the Host; and of particular interest are certain fabrics in which winged angel heads appear, a subject alternating with medallions containing the letters IHC. This last subject, of course, reminds us very much of our Figs. 2 and 3, particularly as the angel heads are surrounded by six wings. Nevertheless, any relation between the Italian and Eastern fabrics based on this similarity of subject can be considered as hypothetical only.

The majority of the textiles studied below are about 26½ inches wide, the standard width of handloom woven fabrics. They are covered with an allover pattern, repeated twice, or four, or even eight times in the width of the fabric. The patterns are such as would be used for what I might term textile surfaces in opposition to border designs.

Only one of the fabrics studied makes an exception, the textile reproduced in Fig. 5. This fabric has a design, repeated at least twice in the width of the standard fabric, which shows clearly that it was woven to be cut into stripes which were to be used as border designs just as similar Italian weaves, ascribed generally to Lucca and Florence, were woven for this purpose, as cheaper substitutes for embroidered border decorations. As an allover pattern, with its alternation of medallion, diamond, and stripe composition, the effect of this design would be most awkward.

2. For the earlier type see Lessing, *Gewebesammlung des Kunstgewerbemuseums in Berlin*, pl. 182 a, b; Falke, *Seidenweberei*, figs. 462, 463. For the later weaves see Lessing, *op. cit.*, pls. 182 c, 231 a, b; Falke, *op. cit.*, figs. 537, 539, 540. Falke, *op. cit.*, p. 112, furnishes proof that

the Italian fabrics were woven full width and were later cut up, as in the case of the Greek stola reproduced in our Fig. 5.

3. For instance, Falke, *op. cit.*, fig. 462.

4. Lessing, *op. cit.*, pl. 231 a.



FIG. 1—New York, Property of Kelekian, Greek Ecclesiastical Fabric. XVII Century (?)



FIG. 2—New York, Property of Kelekian, Greek Ecclesiastical Fabric. Late XVII Century (?)

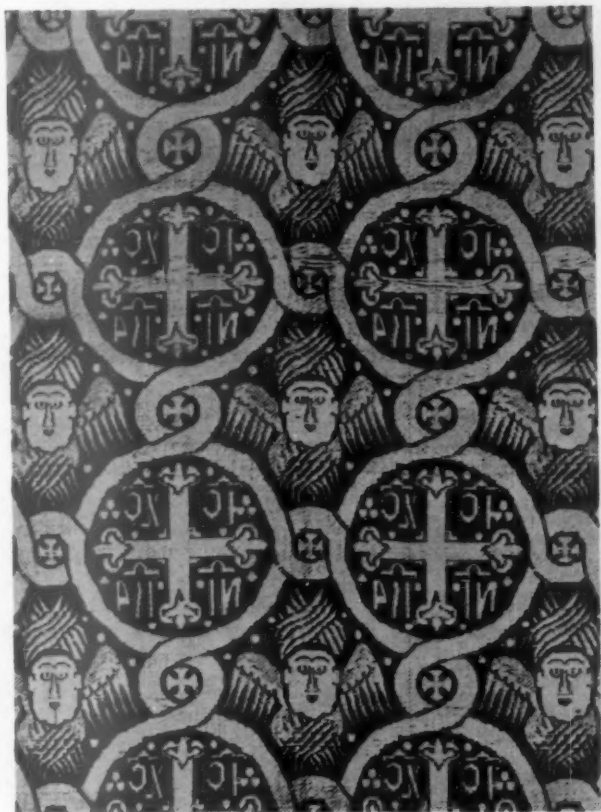


FIG. 3—New York, Property of Kelekian, Greek Ecclesiastical Fabric. XVII Century (?)



FIG. 4—Rome, Collection of Elizabeth Titzel Riefstahl: Greek Icon. XVI Century (?)

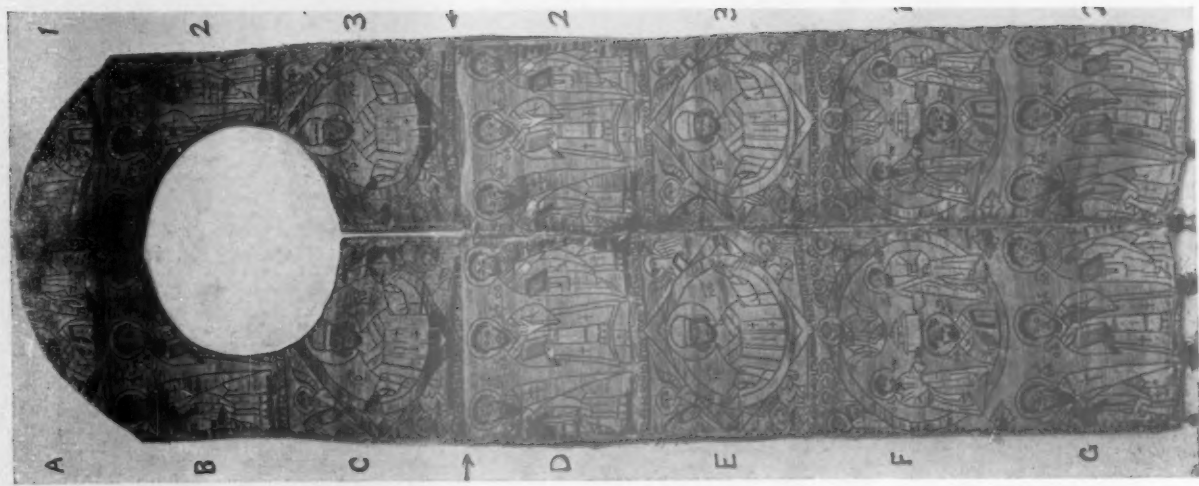


FIG. 5—Providence, Rhode Island School of Design: Orthodox Stola of Cloth of Gold Middle of XVII Century (?)

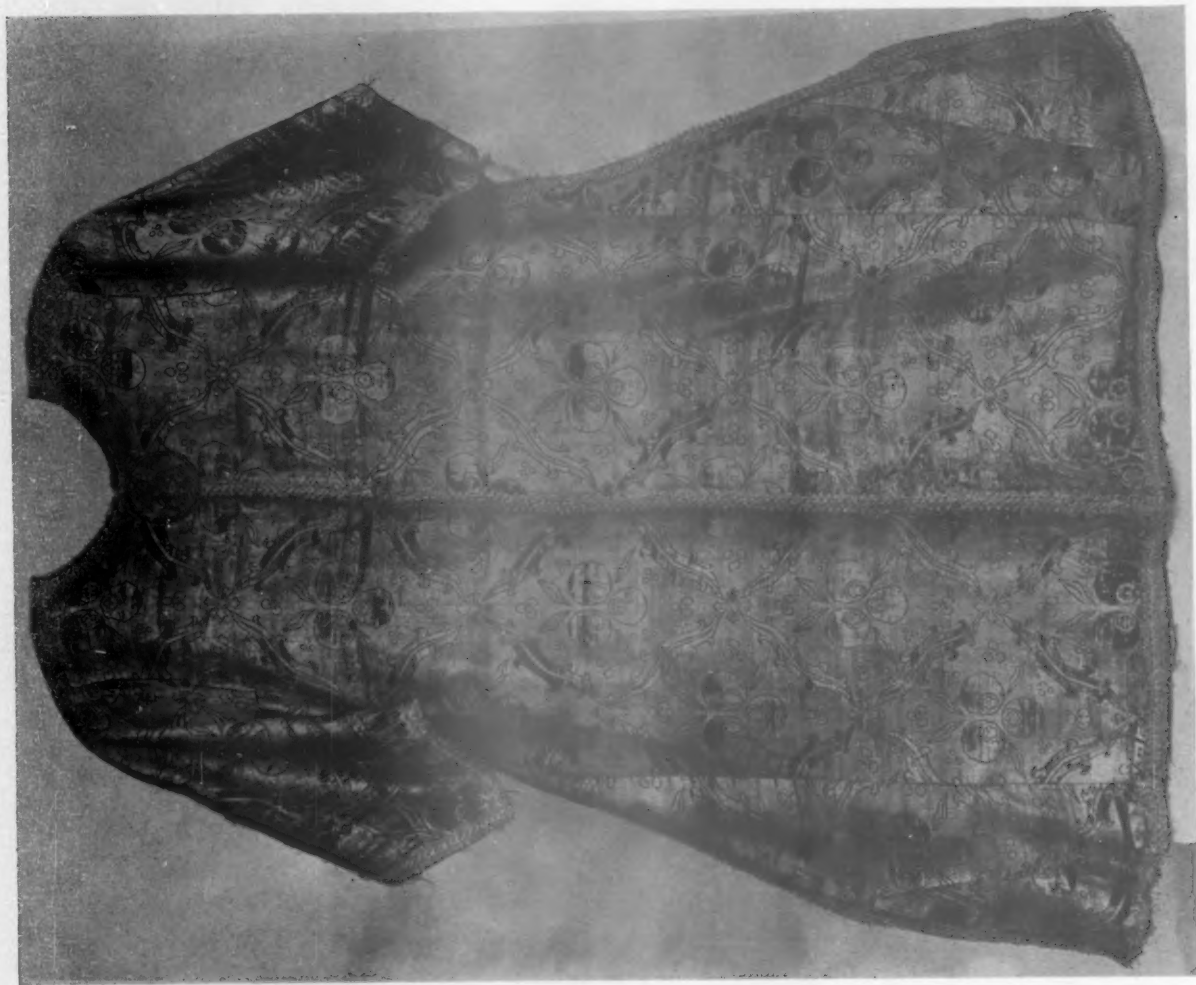


FIG. 6—Providence, Rhode Island School of Design: Dalmatic (Sakkos) of Cloth of Gold. Probably Brussa Fabric. XVI Century (?)

In the Roman Catholic church such border stripes would be used for the longitudinal center stripe of a chasuble, for the border of a cope, for the rectangular panels of dalmatics, and for the decoration of antependia. In the Oriental churches there is much less call for border designs. To prove this point we must give a short survey of the most current vestments of the Oriental churches.⁵

The Greek Orthodox church uses a vestment called phelonion, which corresponds in its use to the Roman Catholic chasuble, or planeta. The phelonion has the shape of the archaic bell-shaped chasuble, i. e., a circular mantle, with a round opening for the head and without opening in front. It is decorated at the back of the neck with a cross-shaped ornament, sometimes woven, generally embroidered. The front seam is sometimes slightly emphasized by a galloon. The earliest types of phelonion are of plain fabric. From the eleventh century on the fabric often shows an allover design of crosses in a black and white effect, the "polystaurion" well known from so many representations of the Hagios Nikolaos, the Hagios Charalampos, and other priest saints on the icons. The use of figure fabrics as in the vestments studied here must belong to a still later phase.

The phelonion hinders the free use of the hands, and in the earlier phase of evolution the Orthodox priest gained freedom of movement by gathering the phelonion to right and left over the elbows, just as the Roman Catholic priest did.⁷ In a later phase of evolution, the Greek Orthodox priest gathered the garment under the chin, hence the later phelonion is often shortened in front in order to diminish the quantity of fabric to be gathered (cf. the example shown in Fig. 9). The other Oriental churches gained freedom of the hands by changing radically the shape of the phelonion: it is opened in front and resembles thus the Western pluviale.

The pluviale, or cope, as such is unknown to the Eastern churches and the use of the word cope, or pluviale, ought, therefore, to be avoided in the description of Eastern vestments. The pluviale-shaped chasuble of the Armenians, Syrians, and Chaldaeans allows decoration with a border stripe, corresponding to the border of the Western cope.

The stola of the Oriental churches goes back to the same origin as the Roman stola, but its shape has developed differently.⁸ It is characterized by a round opening for the neck, either cut into a stola consisting of a single broad stripe of fabric,⁹ or left open in a stola consisting of two stripes of fabric sewed together in the middle.¹⁰ The Oriental stola is often embroidered, and the fabric used for the stola shown in Fig. 5 consists of a fabric woven to be cut in stripes and to be used as a cheaper substitute for embroidery.

The Orthodox vestment which corresponds in shape, if not in function, to the Western dalmatic is described below in connection with the discussion of the garment reproduced in Fig. 7.

5. This short review is entirely based on J. Braun, *Die liturgische Gewandung im Orient und Occident*, Freiburg, 1907; see particularly pp. 234, 601.

6. J. Braun does not mention such phelonion with figure representations.

7. This led in the West to the well-known later shape of the chasuble, consisting of front and rear panel, open on the sides and leaving entire freedom of the hands. An ancient Oriental custom obliged the servant to have his hands covered when serving the master or when carrying an

object destined for the service of the master. (Compare the representations of the Magi in Persian garb carrying their gifts to the Virgin; they always have their hands covered by the Persian mantle.) It would be interesting to observe whether the chasuble in earliest times was used to cover the hands of the officiating priest.

8. See Braun, *op. cit.*, fig. 285 a, b.

9. *Ibid.*, fig. 285 b.

10. *Ibid.*, fig. 285 a; cf. also the stola represented in our Fig. 5.

The fabrics with allover figure patterns made for the Eastern churches on the looms of Brussa are used only in the latest phases of vestments, replacing plain fabrics or fabrics with the polystaurion design. They are perhaps influenced by Western vestments, where figure representations frequently occur, particularly on copes.

The figure fabric designed in stripes, such as that shown in Fig. 5, could be used only for the making of stola. There was hardly any use for such fabrics in the production of chasubles for the Orthodox church, while, on the other hand, the use of fabrics with Greek inscription (as on the stola of Fig. 5) would be strange in Gregorian-Armenian, Syrian, or Chaldaean chasubles, in which, indeed, the use of a decorated front border stripe would be possible.

This whole problem of fabrics composed in stripes is further complicated by the fact that the interwoven inscription of the fabric shown in Fig. 5 contains the statement: "this phelonion is a masterpiece." The inscription refers, thus, just to that type of vestment for which such a composition in stripes could not be used in the Greek Orthodox church. I have no explanation to offer for this apparent contradiction, unless it be ignorance on the part of the weaver, or a later, less clearly defined use of the word phelonion, extending the term of the most used vestment to vestments in general. Both attempts at explanation are rather poor.

The fabric (Fig. 5) referred to above is one of two interesting examples in the Rhode Island School of Design which show religious figures in the decoration of textiles made for use in the Orthodox church. The origin of these two examples, which appeared in the New York market a few years ago, is not known. But they were not the first fabrics of this sort to come to the attention of collectors. There are three examples of less elaborate figure design in the Kelekian collection (Figs. 1, 2, 3)¹¹ which I shall describe briefly before giving a more detailed description of the examples in The Rhode Island School of Design (Figs. 5, 7, 8).

I. *Fabric Decorated with busts of Christ* (Fig. 1)¹²

The design of this fabric is composed primarily of a vertical and lateral repeat of circular medallions containing the figure of the blessing Christ with richly decorated tiara and priest robe, the latter covered by a stola. The robe, in the shape of a dalmatic, is decorated with circular medallions set with crosses. The stola is decorated with a row of crosses. Christ is bearded, and His head surrounded by a halo. To right and left of the head are the letters IC and XC (*Iesous Christos*). The spaces in between the medallions show the design of a cross and in the four corners the inscription: IC, XC, N, K (*Iesous Christos Nika*). The right hand of the Christ is raised in the typical gesture of blessing, and it is probably for symmetry's sake that the weaver has given the same attitude to the left hand.¹³ The weave is a heavy cloth of gold.

11. See Gaston Migeon, *La Collection Kelekian*, Paris, n. d., pl. 73; also Lessing, *op. cit.*, pl. 54 b, (not a figure design).

12. Migeon, *op. cit.*, pl. 73 c. Lyons, Musée des Tissus, no. 2514.

13. It is possible, however, that this motive of blessing with both hands that we see not only in this textile but

also in two of the designs of the stola (Fig. 5) may be traced to a precedent in the ritual. Under certain circumstances the priest blesses with three fingers of his right hand—indicating the Trinity—and with two fingers of his left—indicating the dual nature of Christ. If the textile designs go back to this double blessing, the designers have failed properly to distinguish between the two forms of blessing.

II. *Fabric Decorated with Cherub Heads* (Fig. 2)¹⁴

Interlaced bands produce a net repeat over the field forming large and small compartments. The large compartments show a design of a six-winged cherub head of rather clumsy execution, in alternate rows turned to the right and the left. The small compartments contain Greek crosses, the four arms of each cross ending in a three-leaf effect. This specimen seems to show clearly Western influence and must be dated later than Fig. I, probably in the late seventeenth century.

III. *Fabric Decorated with Cherub Heads* (Fig. 3)¹⁵

Well designed curved bands form a regular repeat of medallions and cartouches over the field, a very early type of textile composition. The medallions show a Greek cross terminating at the four ends in ornamental flourishes, with the inscription: IC XC NI KA in mirror writing (*Iesous Christos Nika*). In the empty spaces dots are visible which twice in the design assume the shape of the well-known Turkish three-globe pattern. In the cartouches are six-winged cherub heads, naïve, but less degenerate in design than in Fig. 2. The handling of the design resembles that of Fig. 1. The interlocking of the bands forms, furthermore, small discs set with a Greek cross. Chronologically, Fig. 3 seems to range between Figs. 1 and 2.

IV. *Stola of Cloth of Gold* (Fig. 4)

There cannot be any doubt that this fabric as it now appears is a stola for the use of the Greek Orthodox church. The neck opening, the composition of the stola of two strips, sewed together lengthwise, corresponds exactly to a type described by J. Braun.¹⁶

The vestment is made from four pieces of cloth of gold, for besides the obvious vertical seam there is an inconspicuous horizontal seam slightly below the opening of the neck (indicated by arrows in our reproduction). The two upper pieces contain three registers of the design, indicated in Fig. 5 by the letters A, B, C, each register showing a different representation. These same representations are repeated in both strips of the four lower registers of the stola, D, E, F, G, but in the order 2, 3, 1, 2. The height of the total repeat comprising three successive designs (1, 2, 3) is 16½ inches; thus, each design measures approximately 5½ inches in height.

The first design, found incomplete in register A (right and left), complete in register F, is the most complicated. A large circular medallion leaves two upper corner fields, which are filled with a group of nimbed angels dressed in tunics, and two lower corner fields, filled by a part of the crosses which connect this register with the following.

Within the medallion, but slightly protruding beyond the circle, are four figures. In the upper center is Christ, bearded, and with a halo. His tunic and mantle are assymetric in design. But the gesture of blessing is made by both arms alike, probably for the sake of symmetry.¹⁷ To right and left of the figure of Christ is the inscription: IC X, meaning *Iesous Christos*—the usual C after the X is missing. In the lower center is the bust of a bearded saint in episcopal robes, with a halo and holding a book, the typical representation

14. Migeon, *op. cit.*, pl. 73 d.15. Migeon, *op. cit.*, pl. 73 a.16. Braun, *op. cit.*, figs. 285 a, 289, 290.

17. See note 13, above.

of St. Nicholas. This identification is proven by the perfectly clear inscription: ὁ ἅγιος Νικολάος.

To right and left, within the medallion, are represented two saints with halos, the left one apparently not bearded, the right one with a thick curly beard. Their flowing robes are neither those of a bishop nor those of a priest. The inscription of the left one is ὁ ἅγιος πς. A deciphering of the name is, of course, impossible. The inscription to the right is ὁ ἅγιος ΚΑΘΛ. The reading of the Λ is uncertain. The Θ, however, is certain. This inscription is probably to be read: ὁ ἅγιος Καλ[λίσ]θ[ένης]. St. Callisthenes and his companion hold in their hands the model of a building, which occupies the space between the Christ and St. Nicholas. This building is clearly not a church and may be the model of a monastery. The two saints are probably the founders of the monastery, perhaps a monastery of St. Nicholas, and they offer their gift to the blessing Christ.

Design 2 is found incomplete in register B (right and left), complete in registers D and G. The field is filled with the figures of three standing saints, all three in ecclesiastical robes. The two outer ones wear an identical costume, a stola over a cope. Both stola and cope show a design of crosses. The epigonation with its tassel is clearly visible above the left knee. The central figure wears a long-sleeved tunic, or chasuble, with the stola above. Each of the three saints holds the bible in his right hand, and the left hand of the central figure is raised in the gesture of blessing. Since in painted representations it is always the right hand which blesses and the left one which holds the bible (cf. Fig. 4), it is evident that the model of the weaver was reversed when the drawboy was prepared. The gestures of the two outside figures are less clear, but are probably also gestures of blessing, somewhat misinterpreted. The figure to the left has emaciated features and wears a long, pointed beard. The inscription shows that it represents St. Basilios—ὁ ἅγ[ι]ος Βασ[ίλ] [ι] λ [είος]. The figure in the center with a short beard represents St. Chrysostomos—ὁ ἅγ[ι]ος χρ[υ] σόστ[ο]μος. But the figure to the right cannot be identified with certitude. In the name of the saint the initial Σ is clear. The second letter seems to be a π. If the reading of the π is correct we may have here St. Spiridon, ὁ ἅγ[ι]ος Σπ[ιρίδων].

Below this register runs an inscription, τόδε φελόνιον τοῦτο ἐστὶ καλλέργημα, which may be translated, "this phelonion is a masterpiece."

Design 3 is found incomplete in register C (right and left), complete in register E. A diamond motive segregates four corner triangles, in which we find: in the upper left, the angel, symbol of St. Matthew; in the upper right, the eagle, symbol of St. John; in the lower left, the lion, symbol of St. Mark; in the lower right, the ox, symbol of St. Luke. All four symbols wear halos and hold the gospel. On the diamond is set a medallion that encloses the figure of the blessing Christ. He is represented in priest robes. A halo encircles His head, His beard is short, and He wears the tiara of the Orthodox priest over hair that falls in locks on either side of the head. Under the stola He wears a chasuble and a long-sleeved tunic. Both hands are raised in the gesture of blessing. The inscription IC XC, *Iesus Christos*, identifies the Saviour. Below this representation is an inscription which is unfortunately, not quite clear in its beginning, though the end may be readily understood: Π·ΟΦΗΡΑCICCA γὰρ τῇ κεκτημένῳ μνημονεύει: ". . . to the owner records."

The complete stola measures—as it is now—57 inches in length, 12 inches in width, and is badly frayed around the neck opening. Two strips with identical representations are

sewn together. There are two sets of warps: besides the deep red organzine silk warp which is used to outline the design, we can observe a cream-colored binder warp. A few details are executed in colored silk wefts, but gold and silver wefts are predominant. As usual, the gold thread consists of a silver-gilt flat wire spirally wound round a core of yellow silk while the silver thread consists of a flat silver wire spirally wound round a core of white silk. The background is executed in gold thread appearing in twill binding. Gold thread is also used for the greater part of the figures; the faces, details of the vestments, and the model of a building in *motif* 1 are, however, executed in silver thread. A few details are done in colored silk wefts, which appear also in twill binding. Black is used for the hair, the beards, the eyebrows, and the outline of the eyes of the personages represented, while the mouths, the pupils of the eyes, and the noses are interpreted by outlines done in the red warp. The same method of outlining a head in black and red is quite frequently found in Islamic miniature painting. A turquoise blue weft is used for certain details, such as the gloves and shoes in F—1 (right and left). Books and hands are blue in G—2 (right and left); in D—2 (right and left), however, the books are blue while the hands are cream-colored. The difference in different registers, coinciding with the identity of coloring to right and left, has a significance: it makes it most probable that the fabric was cut in stripes before being reassembled for a stola.

Besides these wefts used to form the design we observe a structural weft, appearing only where the fabric is worn down. This structural weft consists of manila-colored silk. An analysis, however, revealed also traces of very fine wool fiber, which probably got in by accident.

The fabric was, of course, woven on a handloom with drawboy arrangement. The lengthwise repeat measures $16\frac{1}{2}$ inches, which tallies with other fabrics of the Brussa type and also with the fabric reproduced in Figs. 7 and 8. We can also make fairly safe conclusions as to the width of the loom employed, after having proven first that at least two side repeats of the pattern must have been woven simultaneously. Irregularities in the tying up of the warps give us valuable clues. While in B—2 the weave is absolutely perfect, the same representations in D—2 and G—2 show an irregularity in the weave on the left shoulder of St. Basilus and on the head and shoulder of the third saint (St. Spiridon?). In D—2 the fault in the weaving is less considerable than in G—2. It will be remembered that the stola has a horizontal seam between registers C and D. While there is no weaving fault in ABC, it occurs in both repeats of the piece DEFG. Of particular interest is the fact that the weaving fault is the same in the right and left halves of the fabric, giving thus a further, irrefutable proof that the right and left sides originally belonged together, and that the cloth of gold was woven in at least two widths of fabric. As the reproduction shows, the corner motives consisting of crosses were trimmed down when the two strips of the stola were sewed together. Making allowance for the trimming down on both sides, we obtain a width of about $16\frac{1}{2}$ inches, to which we must add on each side about one-half inch for the selvage. The standard width of the dalmatic shown in Fig. 7 is $26\frac{1}{2}$ inches, allowing one-half inch on each side for the selvage. It is perfectly possible that the fabric of the stola, the designs of which are smaller than in the case of the dalmatic, was woven on a narrower loom. If, however, we assume that the design was repeated three times sideways we obtain a width of $24\frac{3}{4}$ inches, to which one inch for the selvage has to be added, making a total of $25\frac{3}{4}$ inches, which, making allowance for slight

errors in the calculation of the trimmed parts, is practically identical with the standard width of the other Brussa cloths of gold. I am, therefore, inclined to assume that also the present cloth of gold was woven in a threefold sideways repeat and that the cloth, including the selvage, was of the standard width of approximately 26 inches.

These rather dry technical remarks are not without interest, as they show that the cloth of gold of this stola must have been woven in the same manner as the Italian fabrics studied above: at least two, perhaps three identical subjects were woven simultaneously, intended to be cut into stripes later. An influence exerted by the Italian fabrics is, therefore, quite possible, though not absolutely certain.

On the other hand, the technique of weaving, the length of the repeat, and perhaps also the width make the present fabric correspond to the well-known type of Brussa cloths of gold, in which a background is executed in metal thread, while the outline of the figure appears in a warp effect, generally in red, and details of the figure are executed in silk brocading of various colors.

The date of the stola fabric, because of this resemblance in technique to the Turkish cloths of gold of the Brussa type, must be the sixteenth or seventeenth century. On account of the very spirited design, I incline toward the latter part of this period, the middle of the seventeenth century.

V. *Dalmatic (Sakkos) with Representation of the Seated Christ* (Figs. 7 and 8)

It is surprising that the series of Orthodox vestments in the Rhode Island School of Design includes two dalmatics, for the dalmatic (called sakkos in the Oriental church) is rather rarely used in the Oriental church. Its function is not the same as in the Roman Catholic church. It is practically reserved for patriarchs and very high dignitaries of the church.¹⁸ But the two dalmatics in Providence (Figs. 6 and 7) cannot be of the Roman church, as they lack the characteristics of Roman dalmatics: the two vertical stripes in front and the applied panels of decoration. The cross of gold braid applied in front of the example shown in Fig. 7 and the needlework medallion in the same location on that reproduced in Fig. 6 point decidedly to use by the Orthodox church. It therefore seems probable that the whole group of vestments comes from a very important ecclesiastical center of the Orthodox church.

The fabric of the dalmatic reproduced in Figs. 7 and 8 is unique among Anatolian silk fabrics, for while representations of figures in textile design are not rare in Shiite Persia, they were strictly avoided in Sunnite Turkey. Only a fabric destined for the use of the Christian community might have that type of textile decoration, which would have been abhorred by the Turks themselves.

The Christ, a figure of the unusual height of $8\frac{1}{4}$ inches, is represented seated on a throne with curved back. The design in front of the seat seems to be a simplified rendering of small turned wood balusters as they are seen very frequently decorating the seats of Christ or the Virgin in Byzantine icons. The cushion on the seat, which is almost never missing in the icons, has not been clearly understood by the designer. Christ holds the bible in the right hand while the left hand is raised in the typical gesture of blessing. This reversal of

18. *Ibid.*, pp. 302-305.

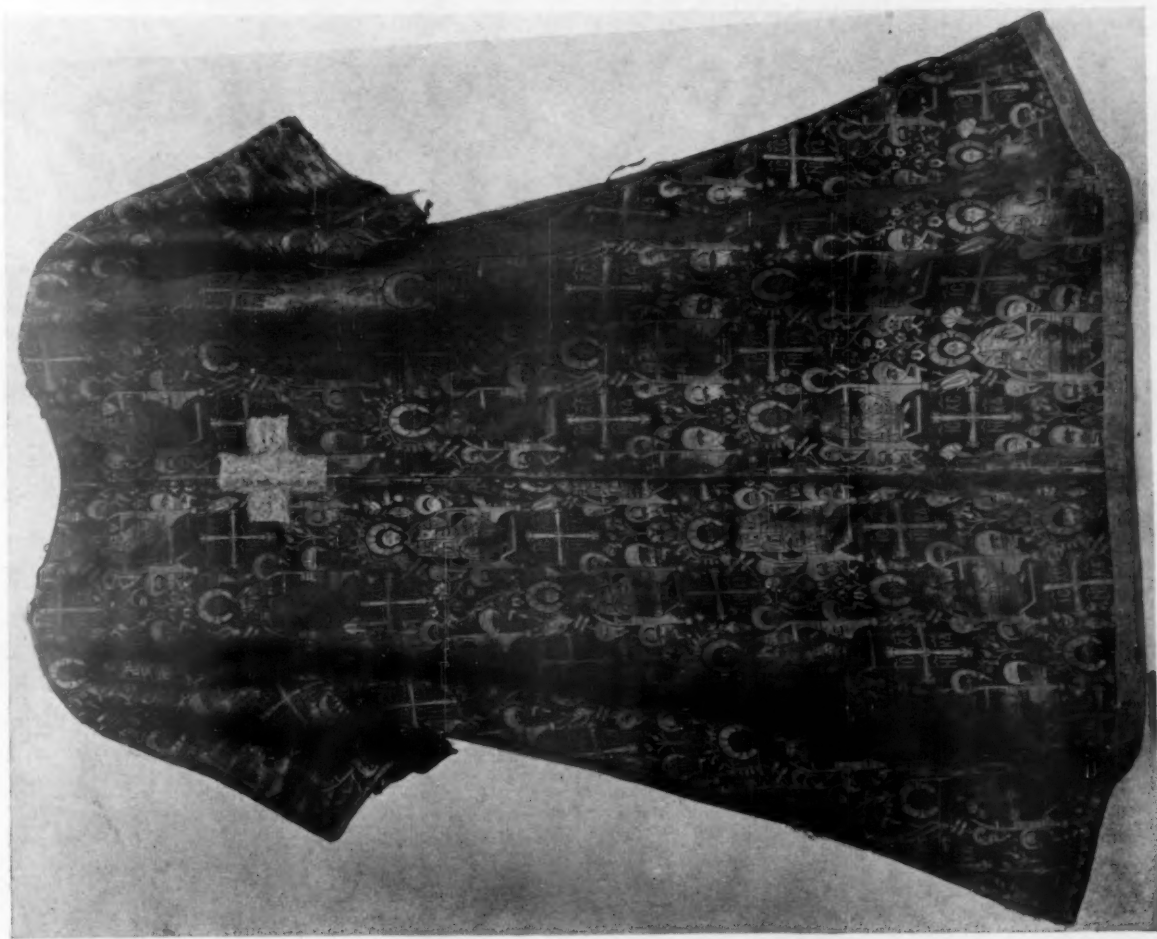


FIG. 7—Providence, Rhode Island School of Design: Dalmatic (Sakkos) of Figure Fabric. Probably Brussa Fabric. XVI-XVII Century



FIG. 8—Detail of Fabric shown in Fig. 7

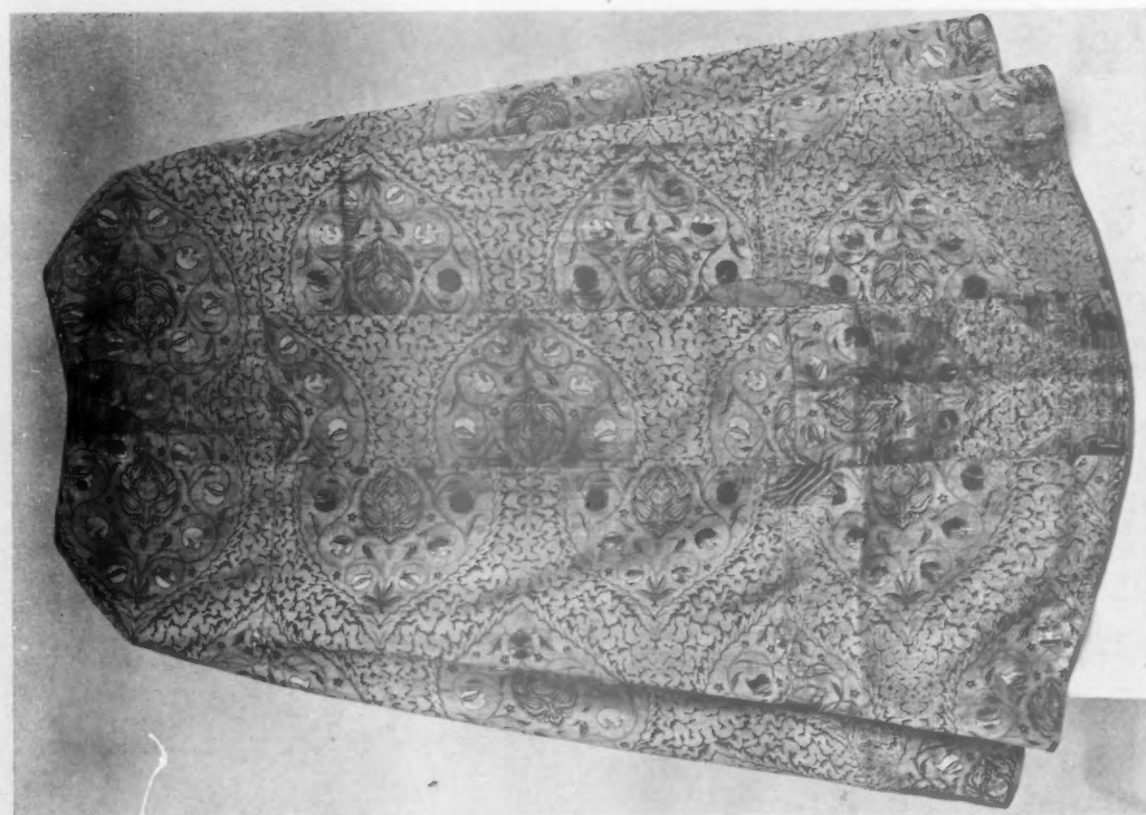


FIG. 9—Providence, Rhode Island School of Design: Orkhodox
Phelonion of Cloth of Gold. Probably Brussa Fabric. XVI Century?

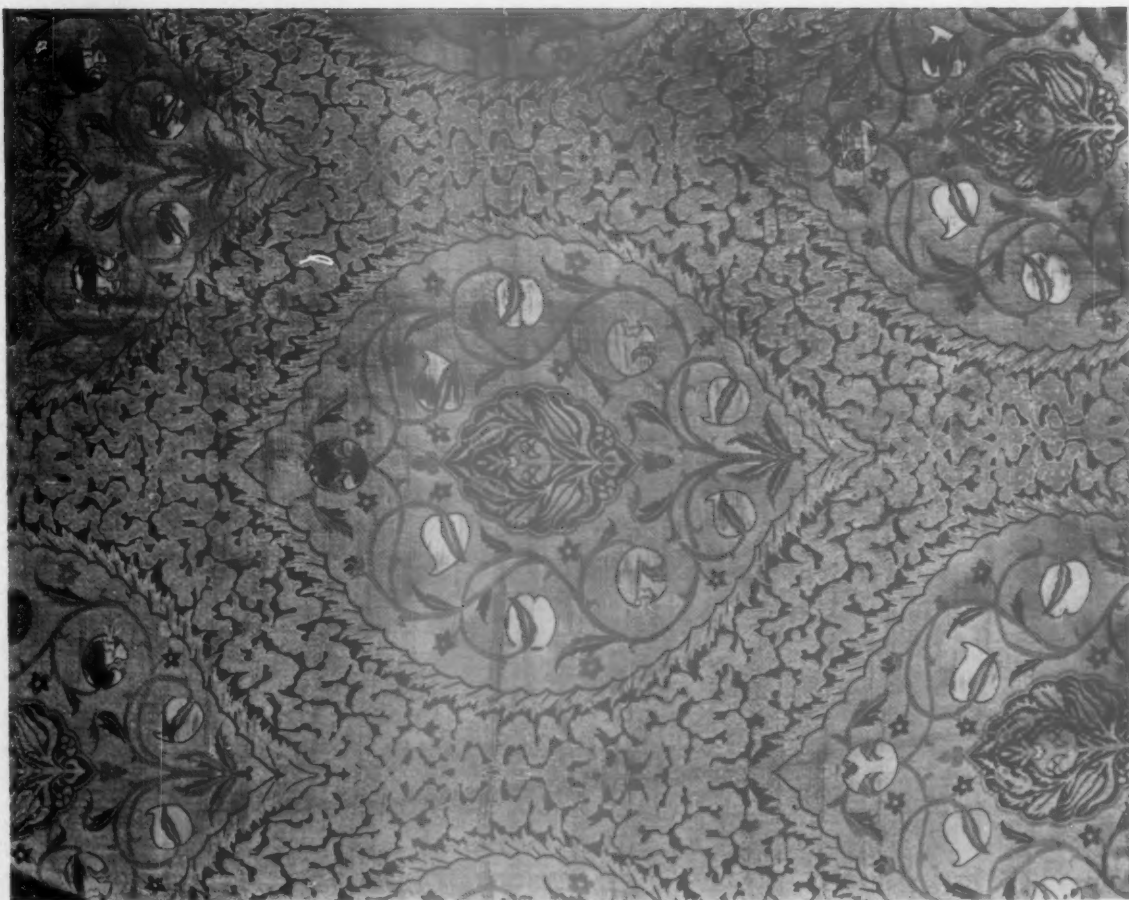


FIG. 10—Detail of Fabric shown in Fig. 9

the normal order, due to the weaver's reversal of the design of his cartoon was observed above in design 2 of the cloth of gold stola (Fig. 5). Christ is surrounded by the symbols of the four evangelists: in the upper left the eagle of St. John, in the upper right the angel of St. Matthew, in the lower left the ox of St. Luke, in the lower right the lion of St. Mark. This shows as to upper and lower register the same order as the cloth of gold stola, but the order right and left is reversed.

Christ surrounded by the four symbols is found frequently in Cappadocian frescoes. The figure of Christ corresponds exactly to the type found very frequently in Byzantine icons (see Fig. 4, a late icon of the sixteenth or seventeenth century). In the features of the Christ there is an attempt to render the severe expression of the Pantokrator: the eyebrows are raised, the pupils are set high within the orbits, and the mouth is turned downward at the corners. To right and left of the head of Christ are two typical Turkish flowers, so well known from the Turkish Brussa fabrics, the rosebud and the carnation. Their naturalistic rendering contrasts strangely with the archaic style of the seated figure. Between two sidewise repeats of the seated figure is a floral motive in typical Turkish Brussa style. From a six-armed-cross-star rosette issues a naturalistic plant ending in a typical Turkish carnation. Above this and between the heads of two sidewise repeats of the seated figure is a large cross with the inscription IC XC and below the transverse arm of the cross, NI KA, the well-known inscription, *Iesous Christos Nika*. In the next register the composition of Turkish flowers and the cross motive is similarly disposed but varies slightly. Instead of carnation and rosebud a curved stem with a floral motive at the end encircles the head of the Christ; the floral motive between the symbols of the evangelists does not issue from a star rosette, and it ends in a flower which is either a conventional palmette or a degenerated representation of the tiger lily. Besides the above-mentioned flowers small rosette flowers ("almond flowers") are distributed here and there over twigs and branches.

The total length of the dalmatic is 54 inches. Its state of preservation is not perfect, for it is rather worn and several holes are patched with fragments of the cloth of gold of which the stola (Fig. 5) is made. This permits the conclusion that both vestments come from the same church.

The figure representation is in a drop repeat. The length of the repeat is $16\frac{1}{2}$ inches, exactly the same as in the cloth of gold of the stola. The width of the fabric is $26\frac{1}{2}$ inches; this includes a total of $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches for the selvages of white silk.

We observe two warps: one wine-red warp of organzine silk, forming the background of the design in satin binding, and a binder warp, which is cream-colored. A black weft is used for the major part of the design: for the cross, the lettering, the garment of Christ, the throne, the footstool, and the contour of the face of the Christ, also for His hair and beard, and, among the symbols of the evangelists, for the eyes, horns, and hair of the ox. A few outlines are, however, done in a satin effect of the red warp, for example, the outline of the cross within Christ's halo. The halos of the symbols of the evangelists are done in light green. The floral motives have no outline at all. Gold brocading (done with silver-gilt flat wire spirally wound around a core of yellow silk) is used for the field of all halos, for the large cross, and the surrounding lettering. Other colors used for brocading are pale blue, pale green, and ivory white. Christ's garment is pale blue. Faces and hands, also

the bodies of the symbols are white, except for the eagle, which is pale blue. The flowers—carnations, rosebuds, and star flowers—are white and pale blue.

Taken as a whole, the fabric corresponds technically exactly to the Turkish "Brussa" brocades in which no gold or very little gold brocading is used. Though unique, it falls within the range of the usual Brussa silk weaves of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It seems slightly earlier than the cloths of gold discussed above, and must be assigned to the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century.

VI. *Phelonion (Chasuble) with Floral Pattern* (Figs. 9 and 10)

Besides the stola and dalmatic with figure representations described above, the Rhode Island School of Design has two beautiful Orthodox vestments in the decoration of which figures play no part, a phelonion, or chasuble (Figs. 9 and 10), and a dalmatic, or sakkos (Fig. 6). The phelonion, shorter in front (34 inches) than in the rear (53½ inches) to give greater freedom of movement to the hands, is a typical example of this vestment in the Orthodox church. The rear of the garment is decorated with a roundel in needlework, showing a four-winged angel's head, a decoration such as is almost always found on Orthodox chasubles.

The fabric presents the pattern sideways. Furthermore, the pattern is cut up: it seems as if a yardage on hand had been used in a haphazard way to make a phelonion. While the back is well preserved, the front is badly worn, due to the fact that the priest folded the front of the phelonion under his chin, in order to obtain freedom of the hands while officiating.

The pattern is a well-known Turkish design.¹⁹ Almond-shaped lozenges are formed by broad bands filled with an allover design of Chinese cloud pattern. The almond-shaped medallions show an elegantly curved spiral vine with attached conventionalized pomegranates encircling a central lozenge containing a group of Turkish flowers: pomegranate, carnation, tulip, and rosebud.

Here, again, we observe a red organzine warp, forming the outline of the design, and an ordinarily invisible binder warp of cream color. Besides the wefts forming the pattern, there is a structural weft of salmon color, visible only in damaged spots. The predominant weft is gold thread of the described type. Other wefts employed are white, used particularly in the outline of the cloud pattern, and light blue, used particularly in the spiral stems. No black weft occurs.

VII. *Dalmatic (Sakkos) of Cloth of Gold with Three-Globe and Lightning Design* (Fig 6)

Our last example from the Rhode Island School of Design, a dalmatic, is of the usual cut. It is 49 inches long, and in the upper part of the front is an embroidered medallion showing a figure of Christ. The garment is not well preserved; holes have been patched with fragments of other fabrics.

The technique closely resembles that of the stola (Fig. 5). Two warps have been employed, one of red organzine silk which forms the outline of the pattern, the other a cream-colored binder warp, noticeable only where the fabric is worn. Besides the wefts

19. Cf. *La Collection Besselievre*, Paris, n. d., pl. 13.

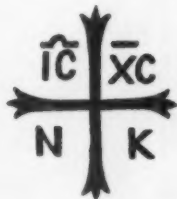
forming the pattern, we observe a salmon-colored binder weft, which has no share in the formation of the pattern. The background is executed in an effect of the gold weft, the figure (outlined by the red warp) is done in silver weft. Gold and silver threads are of the same character as in the stola.

In this fabric too, the weave shows many irregularities, due to faulty tie-up of the loom. These irregularities are particularly noticeable in the small three-globe designs and also in the red contour of the large three-globe motives. The design consists of a drop repeat showing a lozenge formed by stylized lightning motives. In the center of each lozenge is the well-known Turkish three-globe motive, with smaller lightning motives in between, while smaller three-globe motives fill the empty spaces around.

One little motive, however, deserves particular attention. The four corners of each lozenge are filled with a conventionalized cross motive which is evidently the same as that which has been trimmed down in the corner motives between the registers containing designs 1 and 2 in the stola (Fig. 5). In the stola each arm of this cross is decorated with a smaller cross motive (although only the lateral arms of the cross are visible, the same decoration may be anticipated for the upright arms).²⁰ These smaller cross motives are missing on the cross of the dalmatic. Nevertheless, there cannot be any doubt that the occurrence of the identical larger cross in both fabrics proves the same workshop for both. It is certain that the fabric of the stola was executed by Greek workmen. Greek tradition seems, therefore, to have survived also in the cloth of gold of the dalmatic. On the other hand, many of the Brussa designs point to Persian influence or Islamic origin. Thus, these fabrics show the inextricable interweaving of Greek, Turkish, and Persian elements, which is so characteristic of the Turkish imperial art of the sixteenth century.

20. This analogy is further confirmed by the fabric reproduced in Lessing, *op. cit.*, pl. 54 b (see also Falke, *op. cit.*, II, p. 7, note 3). The composition of this fabric is similar to that of our Fig. 3. The medallions contain the same cross motive with Greek inscription as Fig. 3. The spaces between the medallions show a cross motive instead of the six-winged cherubs. Between the arms of the cross are Turkish tulips. The cross, however, is practically identical with the cross motive of our Fig. 5. Small cross

motives are laid on each arm of the cross. The figure is in gold wefts, outlined by pale blue wefts on a red background formed by the warps. The lettering and a few other small motives are in gold only, without blue outline. The appearance of the fabric shows clearly that it belongs to the same group as the fabrics described here. There seems to me no reason why these fabrics should be ascribed to Russia rather than to Greek weavers within the Ottoman empire.



REVIEWS

A GUIDE TO THE ISLAMIC POTTERY OF THE NEAR EAST.
By R. L. Hobson. London, British Museum, 1932.

In this unassuming *Guide to the Islamic Pottery of the Near East* Mr. Hobson has furnished the clearest and soundest treatment of Near Eastern pottery that has yet appeared. It is systematic, lucid, interesting, contains valuable information and much sagacious comment, and although primarily concerned with the collection in the British Museum, the latter is so rich and comprehensive that with supplementary citations, it affords a sufficiently representative view of the entire field.

Because of the unfortunate organization of museums fifty years ago which created departments primarily in terms of material, Mr. Hobson has been obliged to take all ceramics for his province, an Atlas-like load which he alone of living scholars could hope to bear adequately. If his work is inevitably penalized in details by this Aristotelian program, there are, nevertheless, important compensations. All of his judgments are enriched by a complex historical background; his unrivaled knowledge of Far Eastern ceramics enables him to establish many revealing relations between Chinese and Near Eastern pottery; and his erudition in other fields enables him to make illuminating comments concerning the contributions of Near Eastern ceramics to those of Byzantium, the Mediterranean, Spain, and Italy.

The introduction gives in less than four pages a sound survey of Near Eastern pottery and its values. In such summary statements Mr. Hobson remains a master. His estimate that "Persian pottery glazes have a soft luxuriance of color which is hardly equalled on any other ceramic medium" (p. XIII) is likely to stand for a long time as the authoritative appraisal. Although he speaks interestingly of the robustness of Persian pottery, we can only regret that Mr. Hobson, whose qualifications are so eminent, did not discuss some of its more subtle excellencies in which consist perhaps its chief claim to high rank—the varied and subtle contours, the sensitive way in which the character of the material has been preserved and expressed, the ingenious adaptation of the ornament to shapes and spaces, and the perfect appropriateness of the decoration to the substance. These less obvious qualities call for more study than they have received.

The running commentary is fortified by a precise description of each object mentioned, giving the information about potting, size, and inscriptions, so necessary to the student. The scheme of classification is not wholly satisfactory. It is partly determined by technique, partly by locality. The designations "Rhages," "Grafiato," "Rakka," "Unglazed Pottery," "Gombroon," "Kubatcha," "Kutahiya," "Tiles," etc. hardly constitute a logical or consistent division of the material. Classification ought to be according to general

periods, then by types, and then by the name of the producing locality, or if preferred, in the reverse order. It ought not to be too difficult to define the types, for though the awkward question of terminology would at once intrude, the material is available in the principal museums and the ceramic vocabulary is sufficiently advanced to permit of a reasonable uniformity.

Mr. Hobson divides the material according to three general periods—the first period from 622 through 1200, the second, from 1200 to 1400, and the third, from 1400 on. 1200, however, is an unfortunate dividing line; 1100 would have been much better as it marks something of a turning point. The early twelfth century shows increasing technical competence, greater variety, and more interest in finish and elegance. The dated pieces in Dr. Kuehnle's list show us that the characteristic luxury wares of the thirteenth century were certainly common before 1200.

Mr. Hobson has given excellent descriptions of the ceramic methods employed. He has provided at every turn illustrations and discussions of dated pieces, he has given the clearest exposition of Egyptian and Turkish ceramics yet published, and has effectively disposed of various well-established prejudices and errors. Most of the terminology of Near Eastern ceramics was fixed by dealers and collectors before the scholars could ascertain the facts, and many erroneous attributions resulted, a number of which Mr. Hobson has now conclusively dismissed, without, however, escaping from others. He summarizes the evidence for ascribing the so-called Rhodian pottery to Isnik, and the problem may now be considered settled. With equal facility and decisiveness he straightens out the Gombroon problem, and contributes a very helpful discussion of the relatively unfamiliar material found at Brahminabad and Nuletus.

The ambiguous relations between Turkish faience and the so-called Damascus ware are more adequately discussed here than anywhere else, and while admitting that wares of good quality were produced at Damascus, Mr. Hobson has shown convincingly that the fine pieces are Isnik work. Similarly, he relegates to its proper place the beautiful sixteenth century blue-and-white Turkish faience, previously ascribed to Kutahiya, dedicated to "Abraham of Kutahiya." As Mr. Hobson quietly remarks, "All we may legitimately infer is that the ewer in question was made for a dignitary of that place," and as there was no tradition of early pottery-making at Kutahiya, the kilns that produced this blue-and-white ware must also have been located elsewhere, and again Mr. Hobson designates, and probably correctly, Isnik.

On the hotly-discussed problem of the origin of lustre ware Mr. Hobson takes a detached and non-committal view, holding that "how and where it came into existence is not yet known and perhaps never will be" (p. XIV). He does not believe that there is as yet evidence that true

porcelain was ever made in Persia. But he makes no reference to Prof. Marr's finds at Ani which seem to warrant an affirmative answer to the question.

In interpreting patterns Mr. Hobson is not always on sure ground and his descriptions are occasionally a little misleading. The decoration of the charming ninth century blue-and-white bowl (fig. 10) he says represents a fire altar (p. 5). This would be important if true because of the connection with Zoroastrianism. The pattern, however, has nothing to do with a fire altar, but is merely one of the ancient Near Eastern columnar palm motives reduced with the characteristic dramatic power of abstraction that makes this ware so attractive. (For illustration see Layard, *The Monuments of Nineveh*, First Series, pl. 30.)

In his discussion of the Isnik ware Mr. Hobson says that its distinguishing feature is the "thick upstanding bright red. This color is applied in the form of a slip, hence its thickness." But in most cases at least the thickness is not in the glaze or bole itself, but is actually built up in the biscuit, as an examination of a number of fragments has clearly shown. Perhaps it is not possible to generalize this statement and insist that all the enamel-like drops are dependent upon a raised surface in the biscuit, but under the circumstances, Mr. Hobson's account calls for the citation of some piece in which this thick red is entirely composed of the bole. This beautiful sealing-wax red became, as Mr. Hobson says, "what the popular writers love to call a lost art." The "lost art" has been recovered however, in the Glendale plant of Gladding, McBean, and Company in California, where this red is now produced in a quality quite comparable to that of the older Isnik ware. The secret consists in a double firing.

The attribution to the Golden Horn of the white wares decorated with delicate blue spirals, which was first made by Migeon and Sakisian, is, however, contested by Dr. Riefstahl (*Turkish Architecture in Southwestern Anatolia*, Cambridge, 1931, pp. 72-3), who finds evidence for its manufacture in other places as well.

The section on Persian pottery is naturally the most important of all, and Mr. Hobson wisely gives it more space than all the other types combined. Yet this is the least satisfactory part of the book. True, the classification of Persian pottery is a complicated and difficult task. Dependable information is not ready to hand. Mr. Hobson earnestly laments, as do all students, the lack of scientific archaeological data; but Mr. Hobson has despaired rather too easily.

"The case of Sultanabad," Mr. Hobson says, "is typical of the obscurity which beclouds so many of our attempts to classify Persian pottery." True, but it might also be thought of as typical of the somewhat lackadaisical character of these attempts. Mr. Hobson adds, "This place does not appear on a map of the year 1200, and the earliest date on a specimen of reputed Sultanabad ware is 1227, which leaves a quarter of a century for the growth of the town, a possible but not very adequate margin (p. 53)." (Although no part of the argument, it would have been useful if Mr. Hobson had told us what this map is. Persian maps of the year 1200 are too rare for each one not to be specifically noted.) The case as Mr. Hobson puts it is worse than he thinks, for the earliest date on a reputed Sultanabad ware is not 1227 but that of

the bowl in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, dated 1210, while the famous Macy jug now in the Metropolitan Museum, where it is officially assigned to Sultanabad, is dated 1215-16.

Sultanabad does not appear on early maps for the reason that it is a modern city founded by Yusuf Khan Gurji in 1808. Until then it was apparently open country. Nor has any "Sultanabad" ware been found on the actual site of the present city. Sultanabad is merely the largest town in this area, and owing to its modern rug factories has become the center for the collection and shipment of various commodities; but the pottery called "Sultanabad" has been found in quite other places. The most important of these sites are: Assetaneh, Sesuk, Shahabad, Borzabad, Zolfabad, Mojdabad, and Fayum. Fayum, Sesuk, and Borzabad have produced the most important finds. These places are from five to thirty-five miles from Sultanabad.

As Mr. Hobson correctly says, "There is no evidence that pottery was made there (Sultanabad)" (p. 53), but there is evidence that it was actually made in several other towns in this region. Two large store rooms or shops were uncovered, one in Fayum and one in Borzabad. In both, rows of bowls and ewers were found intact on the shelves. Tripods and wasters have been found in several places in the district. As Mr. Hobson says, "It will be well to regard the name Sultanabad for the present merely as a convenient label" (p. 53). Perhaps the name "Sultanabad" ought to be modified to "Sultanabad region" until, or if, the present study of the material from the various sites warrants the application of specific names of the different towns to their respective types. Vignier suggested some time ago that instead of being called Sultanabad these wares should be called Aragh, and this is the name usually given to them in Persia, but it is unfit because of the inevitable confusion with Iraq of Mesopotamia, of which this region was once part, and the difference in spelling of the names would not be in itself a sufficient distinction. (Charles Vignier, *L'Exposition d'art oriental, notes sur la ceramique persane* in *Revue des arts asiatiques*, 1925, II, 3, pp. 41 ff.)

Mr. Hobson's discussion of the Persian ware known as Kubachi, so named from a mountain town in Daghestan where it has been found, again illustrates a tendency to surrender perhaps a little too easily in the face of difficulties. The problem is obscure, but is it hopeless? Mr. Hobson is quite correct in saying that there is no clear evidence that this pottery was made in Kubachi, but quite incorrect in saying that "all the information we have is a dealer's report that this ware was found in Kubachi" (p. 76). We have ample and detailed information on the finds of Kubachi falence. It was first reported in English literature by John Abercromby in *A Trip Through the Eastern Caucasus* (London, 1889). Approximately six hundred pieces had been removed to Russian collections before 1890. Kubachi has been visited at least six times by dealers, first in 1891, and again in 1893 by Mr. Cerof Filippo, who may be credited with the discovery of its commercial possibilities; twice by Mr. Varsharg, and still later by Kirkor Minassian, to say nothing of various Russian merchants and a number of scholars, including Prof. Josef Orbeli of the Hermitage. One Russian artist also visited Kubachi and made careful water color drawings of the picturesque town, including one showing the

interior of the chieftain's house with the walls entirely covered by Kubachi plates.

In his effort to furnish a satisfactory basis for attributions, Mr. Hobson makes grateful use of the results of scientific excavation insofar as published. The Sarre-Herzfeld excavation at Samarra he regards as the "one real source of light" (p. 1), a judgment somewhat unfair to the work of the French mission at Susa with its discoveries of kiln site evidence, which has been so admirably studied by Koechlin. But scientifically controlled excavations can account for only a small proportion of Persian ceramics, and Mr. Hobson, deprived of the longed-for archaeological support, sees no recourse but to lean heavily on the attributions given currency by the Paris dealers more than twenty years ago, a scheme which Mr. Hobson follows grudgingly and sceptically, his good sense and caution frequently protesting, but which nonetheless is the framework of all his attributions.

But except for Vignier these dealers have had no elementary acquaintance with the literature, no first-hand information concerning pottery origins, and no method for getting it. The conditions of the traffic have made it indeed almost impossible for the European merchant to really know the source of his wares. Though several have been at Rayy, only one of them has ever made a study of the other sites in Persia; Persian pottery has been excavated by scattered individuals or by small groups who sell to the dealers in Teheran, who in their turn either despatch the material directly or sell to agents of European dealers. The diggers exchange and combine their wares, add to them from other sources, and the Teheran dealers do the same. By the time the pieces are assorted, reassembled, and shipped they are completely pied, and the consignee is not likely to be able to unravel the problem. Yet it is this data on which Mr. Hobson has had to base his attributions.

How thoroughly inadequate and unsatisfactory this old scheme is can be shown by a comparison of Mr. Hobson's attributions with a list of the centers of ceramic production which we know, either from contemporary documents or from recent finds of wasters or other kiln evidence. List of Mr. Hobson's attributions: Amul, Rhages (Rayy), Varamin. List of known pottery producing localities (such ambiguous designations as Gombroon and Kubachi are not included in either list): Amul, Aghkand, Isfahan, Kashan, Kerman, Khumseh, Kum, Mashad, Nayin, Nishapur, Rayy, Sari, Semman, Sistan, Shiraz, Sultanieh, Sultanabad Region (Assetaneh, Borzabad, Fayum, Sesuk), Susa, Tabriz, Tus, Yasskand, Yazd, Zarand.

Now, Mr. Hobson is quite aware that his classification scheme falls short of the realities. As he says, "There are many other types of Persian pottery . . . and many other probable centers of production" (p. 55). But he is apparently ready to surrender the problem until the longed-for day of archaeological rescue.

Yet it is possible in Persia to get valuable evidence concerning the sources of the finds, and it is this Persian evidence which Mr. Hobson so seriously underestimates. He frequently says, in effect, that the excavations for pottery which have been conducted in Persia have been casual, furtive, and unintelligent (p. 1), that "excavations, such as they are, have been made primarily for profit, and it is likely enough that persons working in this spirit would take no account of wasters which might, if preserved,

throw light on local manufacture" (p. 15). This is quite unfair to the Persian digger. His work, at least since the War, has not been furtive, but has been legalized and definitely controlled by the issuance of formal government permits. It is moreover far from unintelligent. Of course, compared with modern archaeology, such digging is indeed casual and a poor substitute for scientific information, and it does involve the irretrievable destruction of much evidence. Many of the diggers are illiterate and do not understand much of what they are doing; but, on the other hand, they have often developed not only considerable skill in finding the material, but also a surprising amount of taste and real appreciation, with an understanding of quality and of such technical details as the character of the paste, foot, and glaze. Furthermore, they are not at all indifferent to the problem of localization; and while many do promptly discard wasters and kiln supports, others have taken pains to collect them. A few have given valuable accounts of the conditions of the finds; reporting on the character and dimensions of the buildings uncovered, the size of the bricks, position of objects, and similar useful information. Scores of these diggers have been repeatedly patiently cross-questioned, and their replies have been checked in various ways, and supplemented by visits to various sites and an examination of thousands of fragments. The results of these studies, which throw light on a number of these problems, have been summarily published, and though this is still a long way from properly controlled scientific investigation, it is information that ought not to be discarded without good reason.

Mr. Hobson says that the manufacture of pottery seems to have been very general throughout Persia and that the material and technique varied little in the different districts (p. 56). This is, of course, true and makes the problem all the more difficult. Nonetheless, there are marked differences in glaze, patterns, color, shape, thicknesses, weights, and other material qualities that make it quite possible to establish various types; and studies of waste material on the sites together with other confirmatory evidence do warrant certain positive attributions. As Mr. Hobson himself says, "There is one type which has a strongly individual character and which is as characteristic of Sultanabad as the 'Rhages Polychrome' is of Rhages" (p. 53). Mr. Hobson evidently is referring to the gray-and-white pottery which has been found in masses in the towns of the Sultanabad district and nowhere else. Is this not reasonable proof that it was made where found? But Mr. Hobson remains persistently sceptical and is reluctant to believe that we can make any sound attributions beyond the meagre few that he uses. In referring to Hamadan, Kum, Mashad, Natanz, Kashan, he says, "There is no evidence at present to show that any special type is peculiar to any one of these localities" (p. 55). In the first place, there is one reason why there is no evidence to show that any special type is peculiar to Hamadan—because there is no evidence yet that artistic pottery was ever made there in Islamic times, though we have some interesting Parthian and Sasanian glazed and unglazed fragments which have recently been found there. It is true that we have no evidence yet for assigning any particular type to either Kum or Natanz. There is, on the other hand, considerable evidence for the ascription

to Mashad of several pottery types such as, for example, the beautiful seventeenth century tiles of the Mausoleum of Khoja Rabbi, while there is as good evidence for assigning pottery to Kashan as to any place in Persia. How could one assign to Rayy, that easy catch for all fine pottery types, such pieces as the magnificent lustre mihrab from Kashan now in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, which was made in 1226, when Rayy was still hardly more than a rubbish heap?

Indeed, an error common to all recent writers on Persian pottery is the neglect of Kashan as the principal source of the finest Persian pottery. Persian traditions unanimously confirm this. Furthermore, for centuries *kashi*, or *kashani*, has been the Persian word for faience and was used in Palestine and Asia Minor as well. That faience was named for the town and not the town for faience is indicated in the discussion of the origin of the word by Houtum Schindler (*Eastern Persian Irak*, pp. 110-111), a derivation with which LeStrange conforms (*Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 209), and which is also a generally accepted view in Persia to-day. Judging from Muqadassi writing in the tenth century, Kashan was already widely famous for its tiles, while Yakut, writing in the thirteenth century, expressly affirms that Kashan was widely exporting beautiful bowls, and Abulfeda, writing in the early fourteenth century, says that the houses in Tabriz were covered with faience from Kashan.

The mass of fragments of all types found in Kashan, and the superlative quality of the lustre and painted ware recovered there clearly point to Kashan as a producing center, a hint that is decisively confirmed by the discovery of wasters there and a number of actual kilns which have been uncovered and seen by dependable persons.

Similarly, why should we not attribute to Sultanieh the early fourteenth century wares found there? They follow and often very closely resemble those of the Sultanabad region, but technically are distinctly different both in weight of body and thickness of glaze. The attribution of the green-and-ivory incised ware to Amul is as sure an attribution as could be reasonably asked for. There is good evidence also for attributions to other localities. The Graffiato ware found in the Garous region has been discovered nowhere else, with the exception of a solitary piece which appeared some years ago in Gulpaigan; and there is plenty of kiln site evidence at Yasskand, despite Mr. Hobson's statement to the contrary (p. 25). The cobalt-blue jar with the relief patterns that was in the International Exhibition of Persian Art in London (*Catalogue*, No. 102) was found about twenty-five years ago in Julfa. The glaze, both in thickness and in color, corresponds to the tiles in the mausoleum in Pir-i-Bakran, dated 1309, to the west of Isfahan. The color of both is distinctly different from the blue jars found at Rayy and Sultanabad. Mr. Hobson himself cites a work which mentions that Isfahan was especially noted for the skill of her potters in the thirteenth century. Would it not be reasonable to conclude that both the tile and the jars were Isfahan work at the beginning of the fourteenth century?

But Mr. Hobson's caution and scepticism have not protected him from error when he does venture positive attributions. For example, figures 65, 66, and 67, ewers

and bottles in turquoise or turquoise and cobalt, with delicate relief designs, are set down as "Sultanabad," while in fact they are entirely characteristic of Rayy, where fragments may still be gathered in quantity. For one piece found in the Sultanabad region, there have been five pieces found in Rayy. Saveh has produced far more of this type than Sultanabad.

Mr. Hobson says that specimens of the yellow glazed ware spotted with green, with grotesquely rendered animals, birds, and scrolls "have been found at Rhages, Zanjan, and Amul" (p. 27). None whatever has been found at Rhages or Zenjan. It is a typical Mazanderan ware and practically all that appears so far has come from Amul. Mr. Hobson on the same page further reports the attribution to Amul of the type of strongly incised birds colored with yellow ochrous red in addition to the manganesene, but these pieces do not come from Amul but from Aghkand and Khalkhal, towns between Zenjan and Ardabil. A few somewhat similar but inferior pieces have been found at Rayy.

"Much of the Champlevé and Graffiato ware comes from Yasukand near Sinneh in Ardelan," says Mr. Hobson (p. 25). Yasskand is obviously meant. Garous, not Sinneh, is the nearest place of any size. It is here that the so-called, green as well as brown, Gabri wares are found, as well as many wasters and tripods, showing that Yasskand was the center of production. There are other villages in this vicinity, such as Ogholbak and Ghal-i-Jough, where the commoner forms of this ware have been found, but no sure evidence of kiln sites has been as yet reported except from Yasskand.

Fig. 73 illustrates a little plate which Mr. Hobson speaks of as "probably Syrian." It is typical Saveh ware. Hundreds of plates and fragments of this type have been found in Saveh, and quite a number of similar pieces—perhaps one-fifth as many—at Rayy, and just a few at Sultanabad. This ware can be ascribed to Saveh with as much confidence as any attribution in Near Eastern ceramics.

Fig. 71, a dish painted in blue and brown under clear glaze, is put down as "found near Teheran (thirteenth century)," although in the notes Mr. Hobson prudently remarks, "Said to have been excavated near Teheran" (p. 64). This plate is typical of the Sultanieh wares of the fourteenth century, of which many whole plates have been found, particularly in the last two years.

Mr. Hobson has misgivings concerning the usual ascription of certain crude ware to Varamin (fig. 63), suggesting it may belong to Asia Minor rather than Persia. It is, however, a type of ware found at Varamin, but near the surface. It cannot be earlier than the fifteenth or early sixteenth century. The Mosque of Varamin Mr. Hobson says (p. 52) was built about 1262, a date which he repeats without qualification (p. 96), using this as a basis for dating the so-called Varamin tiles. It is not the mosque, however, which Mr. Hobson means, for that was built in 1322 (cf. Sarre, *Denkmäler persischer Baukunst*, p. 34), as is expressly affirmed by an inscription on the portal. Mr. Hobson doubtless had in mind the Imam Zade Yahia, from which the Preece mihrab, dated 1262, now in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, was taken. This slip of the pen, however, does not seriously affect the argument, although it has some bearing on dating problems, as we really need to know whether the tiles are from the Imam Zade Yahia

of 1262 or the mosque of 1322—a difference of sixty years which would permit of stylistic modifications.

The Mongolian or Chinese type of face has been overworked as a criterion for dating pieces as either before or after the Mongolian invasion. Mr. Hobson implies approval and use of this criterion when he says, speaking of Sultanabad ware, that Chinese influence is very marked in the ornament of this ware. "Human figures (fig. 68) are often of the Mongolian type" (p. 54). It is true, as Mr. Hobson says, of the late thirteenth or perhaps even early fourteenth century, and the lotus, too, is a characteristic Chinese form of the period, but the almond-eyed, round face is, however, no proof that the work is after the Mongol invasion (1220), as may be seen from a lustre bottle dated 1179 which Mr. Hobson illustrates (fig. 25). These same Chinese-looking faces appear on a number of bowls that are dated before 1200.

Mr. Hobson designates fig. 115 as a "mihrab tile" without further comment. If this were really a mihrab tile, it would be a discovery of importance and its consequences for the history of Islamic art and religion would be considerable, for the spandrels of this plaque are composed of a naturalistic representation of the Talking Tree, with its animated heads of animals. Here is the wild ass, the leopard, the hare, the eagle, the camel, the serpent, the hound, the ibex, and other animals. The Shiahs violations of the Hadith prohibition against the representation of living forms have been shown by recent investigations in Persian mosques to have been more daring and general than was thought, but no trace of any animal form within a prayer chamber itself or in conjunction with a mihrab has been found, and in the vast Islamic literature on the subject, no word of defence for such an inclusion has ever been uttered, if we take the word of the most learned Shiahs theologians of to-day, including those who take a liberal attitude toward the problem. The inscription alone makes clear that it is not a mihrab tile, for it is neither Koranic nor historical, and, moreover, is incomplete. As Mr. Guest reads it, we have the statement, "the sky became like a lofty . . .," which sounds like a fragment of a narrative poem. It is quite possible that tiles of this kind constituted merely the top line of a row of vertical panels and that the inscription continues on to the next arch, and so on indefinitely. Lustre tiles were frequently used for palace decoration.

The tile shown in pl. XXXVII is also set down as a mihrab tile, but here again the inscription shows that it was made for secular use or at least that it could not have belonged to a mihrab.

Two of the published pieces are clearly falsifications. No. 3, Graffiato bowl, described as tenth to twelfth century, is an old bowl, but with a recut surface of new design. A number of bowls of this type were made in Persia in 1925. One piece from the same hand is in an American museum and a study group is owned by the American Institute for Persian Art and Archaeology.

The water jug (fig. 42), while again an old vessel, is entirely redecorated by a well-known Teheran falsifier now plying his trade in Mashad. Mr. Hobson notes the derwish with the peaked cap. It is almost the sign manual of this particular forger. An effective piece from the same hand will be published in the section on falsifications in the *Survey of Persian Art*.

The account of the tile mosaics (p. 98) does not give a clear or just picture of the actual processes, which are now very well known, every stage having been amply photographed. They are not exactly "imbedded in the plaster on the wall," but assembled face down in a pattern drawn on paper or on a painted plaster surface. The back is then filled up with mortar and all the fragments are united in a single slab of whatever size can be conveniently handled, leaving, of course, irregular edges where it is joined to the next slab, to which it is invisibly fitted.

The interpretation of artistic intent is a necessary task in the history of art, but how uncertain it may be is illustrated by Mr. Hobson's remark that "it was soon discovered that raising part of the design helped the play of lustre reflection" (p. 97). But the raised surface was not devised for this purpose. It already existed in great variety and perfection in stucco relief such as decorated the mosques of Nishapur and Nayin at least three centuries earlier. Faience tiles in relief are in essence only the old stucco reliefs somewhat simplified and now clothed in gorgeous raiment.

Mr. Hobson makes the puzzling statement (p. 65) that the later Persian style (since 1400) was "profoundly affected" by Anatolian influence, but he makes no further comment. Such a dubious statement would naturally call for some evidence as illustration, especially as no such influence is discernible in the other arts of the period.

There are also some trifling slips in spelling which might be noted. Besides Yasukand for Yasskand, we find Natinz for Natanz, Kubatcha for Kubachi, Sassanian for Sasanian, Mohammedan comports uneasily with Muhammad, and Ispahan has now been generally discarded in favor of Isfahan.

In the matter of usage and nomenclature Mr. Hobson is quite right in deploring such terms as Rhodian and Damascus, yet he sustains a comparable fallacy in speaking of Rayy ware as Rhages. There is no more point in calling the wares of Rayy *Rhages* than in calling New York *New Amsterdam*. The classical Rhages had little in common with the medieval Rayy except the general location. The deplorable looseness of ceramic terminology which Mr. Hobson justly laments can be corrected only if scholars who have authority insist on proper designations. The term Rayy was used in all the publications connected with the Persian Exhibition. It was strongly urged by Sir Thomas Arnold and has been adopted for the *Survey of Persian Art*. With only little more unanimity among scholars the word Rhages could be banished, just as Rhodian has now been banished, as Mr. Hobson says, from "all self-respecting museums and scientific publications."

If Mr. Hobson's book falls considerably short of an ideal treatise on the Islamic pottery of the Near East the fault cannot be attributed to Mr. Hobson. He has been victimized as was pointed out in the beginning of this review, by a preposterously antiquated system that has forced upon him a task which no human being could perform. The organization of museums in terms of material rather than in terms of culture is a fallacy propagated some seventy-five years ago by German theorists like Gotfried Semper, based on an exaggerated interpretation of certain insights of Hegel and Goethe, both of which were distorted by the fashionable *Kraft und Stoff* materialism of the

middle nineteenth century. That it was the function of art, in Hegel's phrase, "to release the import of appearances" was a profound truth, important for metaphysics but only remotely relevant to museum practice, for by the term "appearances" Hegel never meant the substances out of which works of art were made. Goethe's designation of the function of art as the "enhancement of the material" similarly contains a profound truth, but it did not assist much in the task of the historian of art.

Art is primarily the expression of a culture, and the rôle the material plays in it has been greatly exaggerated. Tradition, religion, literature, even economic and political organization, as well as all manner of cultural contacts, are decisive factors underlying art, without which any interpretation is condemned to superficiality. But where scholars are required by the terms of office to be experts in Meissen and Imari, in T'ang, Gallo-Roman, Isnik, Spanish, Siamese, Ming, Deruta, and Delft they are unjustly burdened with an impossible task. Who could presume to be a master of the culture of which these various arts are but the visible expression? Classification by material is a principle of confusion and disorder.

German scholarship has long ago given up this materialistic classification of art with its fantastic consequences. Only in England and America does it still prevail in any degree. The sooner it is banished, the better it will be for our museums, scholars, and the general public.

Despite the exceptions noted which are always likely to loom disproportionately large in any serious review, the deficiencies of the book are really slight compared with its merits. Probably no one else could have done so well, and only Mr. Hobson himself could have done better. It is well printed, has forty plates and seventy-three other illustrations, all well chosen and on the whole of excellent quality. It is strongly bound, contains a good index, and sells for two shillings—one of the real book bargains in the field of art. A short bibliography in addition to the footnote references would have been useful.

Arthur Upham Pope

LOAN EXHIBITION OF CERAMIC ART OF THE NEAR EAST.
By Maurice S. Dimand. New York, Metropolitan
Museum of Art, 1931.

Dr. Dimand has provided an admirable catalogue to what was a remarkable exhibition of pottery. There has probably never been an exhibition of Near Eastern ceramics, with the single exception of the Persian Exhibition in London, which has equalled it for variety and high quality. There are, to be sure, types of pottery in both the Art Institute of Chicago and the Boston Museum of Fine Arts which were not represented in this exhibition, and the principal European museums have a few outstanding pieces that are not rivaled, but there is no collection of Near Eastern pottery anywhere which surpasses the Metropolitan collection in consistent high quality, and enriched by important loans this exhibition gave the most adequate picture of Near Eastern pottery as a fine art that we may hope to see for a long time.

Dr. Dimand's text is lucid, illuminating, and on the whole convincing. It states briefly but clearly the historical background and describes concisely the principal

types. The attributions, necessarily given without argument, follow the conventional classification without perhaps sufficient warning that it is hardly a dependable scheme, a fact which Dr. Dimand has himself recognized: "The provenance is not a sufficient evidence as to the place of production." (*Burlington Magazine*, May, 1924, p. 246.)

Dr. Dimand's dating is generally acceptable, but it is a mistake to follow the usual dating of Mr. Chamberlain's fine large Amul bowl (fig. 18) in the ninth century. This and the related pieces could hardly have been made before the eleventh century, and the production seems to have been continued into the thirteenth. Three dated pieces have been found, all of which have now, unfortunately, been lost sight of. The most important, which was dated in the second half of the twelfth century, was found in Amul in 1918 and passed through the Paris market the following year. Two fragmentary pieces found in the last few years bore dates of the early thirteenth century. With three dates between 1150 and 1250 and other evidence of a retarded development of the ceramic art in Mazanderan, the attribution of this ware to any date before the eleventh century can only be justified by specific material evidence.

Both Mr. Hobson and Dr. Dimand place the so-called Lakabi ware, with fantastic birds and other figures painted in cobalt, turquoise, and manganese on a cream-colored ground—a type of which the most famous example is the eagle plate in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum—in the twelfth century. This is surely an error. These pieces should again be put back into the ninth or tenth century. The shape of some of these plates—shallow and with a flat rim—is identical with that of some technically similar pieces that carry Kufic inscriptions that cannot be later than the ninth century (cf. a plate in the Art Institute of Chicago, London Exhibition Catalogue). Not only that, but the "Lakabi" pieces have been found at Rayy (Rhages) just above the very deepest levels. They are never found higher up with the eleventh and twelfth century material. The few that have been found at Kashan and Saveh are also at very deep levels. At Rayy they are found just above the earliest lustre and the bowls of the Samara type wares, which are by common consent ninth or tenth century.

Dr. Dimand says, "The potters of Tabriz brought to perfection the art of glazed faience mosaics, which were used for the decoration of exteriors and interiors of palaces and mosques" (p. XXIV). But, although this, again, is the conventional view, there is insufficient evidence to support it. It is true that the names of Tabriz potters appear in some of the fifteenth century mosques of Asia Minor and the mosaic faience of the Blue Mosque in Tabriz is beautiful, but it is hardly comparable to the earlier and finer mosaic faience of the Gauhar Shad in Mashad, which was the work of Kawam ed Din and Ghyath ed Din of Shiraz, while Muhammad of Isfahan was responsible in 1434 for the magnificent mosaic faience portal of the Gur-i-Mir in Samarkand, and good faience mosaic appears on dated monuments in Isfahan considerably more than a century before anything that has yet been reported from Tabriz. For one monument with first-class faience mosaic in Tabriz, there are ten or more in Isfahan. So far, we have the names of no Tabris who we can definitely say were mosaic faience makers, but we do know

quite a number from Isfahan and Shiraz. It seems probable that Isfahan rather than Tabriz saw the origin and development of mosaic faience and except for Mashad and Samarkand, it is there that we find the most numerous, the most perfect expressions of this brilliant art.

Dr. Dimand assigns more work to Damascus and Kutahiya in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries than does Mr. Hobson. A just apportionment of the wares in question has proven a difficult problem, though Mr. Hobson has supported his views with convincing evidence.

Like Mr. Hobson, Dr. Dimand does his part in demolishing certain earlier prejudiced attributions and effectively dismisses the attempted attribution of Rakka pottery to the period of Harun ar Rashid.

The customary ascription of certain mediaeval wares to Varamin is so far without any but the most hypothetical evidence and should perhaps be followed with a question mark. We can, on the other hand, attribute with perfect confidence certain types to Mazanderan, concerning which both Dr. Dimand and Mr. Hobson are rather vague. The wares with a red body and opaque cream glaze that carry a design partly in green and partly incised, such as Nos. 18 and 26 in Dr. Dimand's catalogue, have been found by hundreds in Amul and vicinity and nowhere else, and the pieces with the large fantastic birds in red, brown, and green on a yellowish ground have been found mostly in Sari, though a few have come to light also in Amul, to which, as the larger city, they would naturally have been brought. Whatever the precise locality may prove to be, it is certain that this ware comes from Mazanderan.

Dr. Dimand's treatment of the so-called Kubacha ware, though brief, is sound and clear and much more sure than Mr. Hobson's. The suggestion which he repeats from his *Handbook* that it was made in Tabriz has everything to commend it.

Like Mr. Hobson, in company with all the other writers on the subject, Dr. Dimand gives Rayy a greater importance than it deserves as the center of ceramic production in Persia. Most of the Rayy type wares were certainly produced in various parts of the country. Saveh, Sulatanabad, Zenjan, and especially Kashan have delivered up wares indistinguishable from many of the characteristic wares of Rayy, and even at far away Ani in Armenia some of the best types have been found, with wasters and other kiln evidence.

Dr. Dimand does give greater prominence than Mr. Hobson to Kashan, but neither writer seems to appreciate the substantial evidence that Kashan was in all probability the original center for the finest mediaeval Persian wares.

Like all the Metropolitan publications, the catalogue is admirably printed, but the illustrations are unduly cut down by margins wider than necessary. The practice of the British Museum, and especially the little guides of the Victoria and Albert Museum, where the maximum area is devoted to the illustration itself is decidedly preferable. The Metropolitan still clings to an antiquated spelling of Mohamed for Muhammad, which does not correctly reproduce either the sound or the spelling of the original. Rusafa is better spelled with an *f* than with a *ph*.

Joseph Upton assisted in writing the compact and clear items of the catalogue. They record 203 pieces, of which 36 are illustrated.

Arthur Upham Pope

LURISTAN BRONZES. By A. Godard.

Paris and Brussels, Van Oest, 1932.

The most surprising and perhaps the most informing find in Near Eastern archaeology during the last two years has been the Luristan bronzes. They began to appear in numbers in March, 1930, and by the summer of 1931 a mass of several thousands had reached various markets. Opinions regarding the age of these bronzes varied from the view of Prof. Herzfeld, who classed them in the third millennium B. C., to the view of Mr. Gadd in the *British Museum Quarterly* (Vol. V, No. 4, March, 1931, p. 110), who held that none were earlier than the Achaemenid period and most were Parthian, putting them even in the Christian era.

First opinions of their character and interest also oscillated widely, some archaeologists classing them merely as a provincial branch of Assyrian and Babylonian art without independent significance, and others seeing in them considerable originality and the formulation of themes and styles which lasted a long time and were spread so far that the bronzes could even be thought of as one of the links between western and eastern Asiatic art. No one, however, denied the artistic power of the finest pieces, and all agreed that the problem was a baffling one calling for competent investigation.

Information concerning the conditions of the finds was extremely meagre on account of the isolation of the country and its inaccessibility for European investigators. The only facts available came from the questioning of certain Persians who had participated in the discoveries, none of whom had the least training in archaeological observation, although several were of considerable intelligence and of more than average education.

In the fall of 1930, however, M. Godard, Directeur du Service d'Archéologie of Persia, penetrated this difficult and hostile country as far as Harsin, and its environs, about thirty miles from the main highway where it passes the rock of Bihistun. He was able during his stay to secure information of first class importance, giving us the only reasonably complete and dependable account that we have. The results of these investigations and supplementary research are now embodied in a handsome volume in the well-known *Ars Asiatica* series.

M. René Dussaud of the Louvre has contributed an excellent introduction in which, in a few words, he delivers an authoritative although somewhat conservative judgment on the general question of date, placing the more primitive implements and axe heads early in the second millennium B. C., the swords toward the end, and the more developed and naturalistic objects between the year 1000 and Achaemenian times, a dating that confirms that advanced in the first publication on Luristan bronzes in the *Illustrated London News* (September 6 and 13, 1930).

Despite M. Godard's modest announcement that the volume does not undertake anything more than to make known as completely as was possible in February, 1931, a collection of objects, it is more than that. He has gathered together a systematic and instructive corpus of material, which on the whole is excellently illustrated, with occasional plates that reach a high quality, and his own text is clear, orderly, straightforward, and very interesting. He has brought to bear upon this material the relevant

work of many of his predecessors, particularly that of De Morgan, whose investigations at Talish of a related culture throw light on the Luristan problem. Although M. Godard does not claim to have been present at the opening of any of the graves, so that it is impossible for us to check by his observation just what finds have come together, nonetheless, he has provided information almost as important in his careful descriptions of the various types of graves and the method of burial.

The general appearance and location of these burial grounds, the various types of tombs, both the oblong and square, are clearly indicated, with drawings and measurements. The objects found are divided into the arms, such as daggers, swords, whetstones, arrow and lance points, spears, axes, clubs, and shields; dress ornaments, such as torques, bracelets, earrings, collars, pins, rings, fibulae, belts, mirrors, needles; the horse and chariot accoutrements; and standards, vases, cylinders, seals, and pottery. These divisions the author discusses in succession.

In general, the collection of material illustrated is representative, although perhaps overconfined to French collections and the material in the museum at Teheran. One misses the beautiful belt in the Buckley Collection which was in the London Exhibition (*Catalogue of the International Exhibition of Persian Art*, London, 1931, No. 21 F.) and which M. Dussaud regards as the finest piece from Luristan. There are nearly a dozen cups with relief patterns of superb quality, most of them finer than those which M. Godard illustrates, which it would have been desirable to have included if the series was to be complete. The remarkable rein ring in the Louvre with the representation perhaps of the sacrifice of a prisoner, or the fine cup holder in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum with the human figures, or the large round pin in the Boston Museum with a beautifully simplified pattern of flamingoes would all have been valuable additions. The bracelets illustrated, as well as the pins, are a little disappointing, and the magnificent piece in the Reber Collection in Lausanne must not be ignored in any comprehensive treatment of Luristan bronzes. Some of the funerary statues illustrated are not up to the finest, and M. Godard makes no mention of some of the more developed pottery, such as the several beautiful rhyton bovine heads, some of which are splendidly modeled.

A number of interesting pieces of glass have come out of Luristan, of which there was a typical example from the Buckley Collection in the London Exhibition (*Catalogue* No. 291). It would have been very interesting to have M. Godard's comments on these pieces, as they are distinctly puzzling, although closely akin to some recent pottery finds at Susa. To the list of seals should be added a very handsome solid gold seal in the possession of Mr. Eric Schroeder of Boston, which reminds us of the gold seal found at Ur, and it would have been well to mention the fully developed Achaemenian seals said to have been found in Luristan, of which the finest is in the Boston Museum, as they throw some light on the latest date to which we can assign artistic activity in this region. A few very beautiful finger rings have come to light, more than one would suspect from M. Godard's statement (p. 74) and from the rather meagre illustrations which he gives. Some of the finer rings are interesting as expressions of the Luristan enthusiasm for horses, notably one in the

possession of Rabenou which shows a rider in full gallop, magnificently drawn. Others show ibexes and other characteristic emblems. All of these pieces demonstrate the artistic resources of the Luristan bronze makers and together lend an importance to their achievement which is perhaps a little more than we would have suspected from M. Godard's illustrations, magnificent as many of them are, however. But it would perhaps be too much to expect such an early publication to include all the material that has come out, particularly as so much of it has been rapidly scattered, and we have to be grateful to M. Godard for the publication of certain pieces of great rarity and interest, some of which were not previously known.

In a discussion of the conditions of the find, it would have been an advantage if M. Godard had been a little more precise in differentiating what he saw himself from what he was told. His knowledge of Persia and Persian ways and his care in such matters gives us an assurance that he has well sifted his information, but a native's observations, even though tested by M. Godard, have not quite the same value as his own.

M. Godard effectively disposes of certain errors, one of which, about the superhuman size of the interred bodies, was amusing, but not serious. He throws considerable doubt on another of more interest, concerning the burial of horses with human remains, which was reported by Rabenou, although Rabenou did not claim to have seen this himself. M. Godard now explains that this rumor arose from the fact that single bones of a horse were occasionally interred with those of human beings. But there is nothing inherently improbable in a complete burial. Six horses were found in graves in the Altai, a region where the horse was apparently honored as in Luristan.

With such new material as these bronzes and with such meagre supplementary information, differences of opinion are certain to arise concerning the use or original intention of some of the types. M. Godard calls a magnificent u-shaped object a "pendeloque," but it seems much more likely that it is a crupper.

Concerning the vessels with the long spout with a secondary cavity at the base of the spout to regulate the flow of the liquid, M. Godard offers the interesting suggestion that they were used in some sort of pre-Mazdean sacrificial ceremony in which the sacred liquor was perhaps poured into the orifices of the dead, an operation that would, as he says, require care and accuracy and for which these instruments would be well adapted. On the other hand, we cannot overlook the suggestion of Oscar Raphael, with his specialized knowledge of horses, that these vessels may be the forerunner of the modern 'drench,' an instrument with a long, narrow spout used for giving medicine to horses. Such skilled horse trainers as were these Kassites of Luristan would almost certainly have had knowledge of simple remedies which would have called for such special instruments for their administration.

M. Godard believes that the bits were sometimes used for headrests (p. 77), and it is true that the natives made this report at first; on the other hand, M. Godard does not assure us that he has himself seen a bit so placed, and questioning of many of those who have been in Luristan and who have actually been present at the opening of many graves does not confirm this report. It has been

so far impossible to find any one reliable person who had the opportunity, who is perfectly precise about having seen these bits so used. M. Godard promptly and successfully disposes of the theory that was first held with some warmth, that the bits could not have been used. Other practical horsemen who have examined many of the bits find no difficulty in thinking that all except a few, which were obviously models or toys, could have been used. Recent discoveries of horse trappings in the Altai region show that it was an approximately contemporary practice there to supplement the metal headgear with wood and leather. Wood or leather pads attached to the inner side of the cheek plaques of the Luristan bits would have been a perfect protection against undue chafing, a danger that some have felt was too considerable to have permitted any practical use of these bits. Of course it is quite possible that the more elaborate bits were used only for festivals or ceremonial purposes or perhaps when a horse was being decked for market day.

M. Godard gives an interesting, if somewhat hypothetical, account of the origins of the Luristan people, who, he believes, came from the Talish region west of the Caspian. A somewhat primitive culture here, investigated by De Morgan, shows many analogies with implements and practices found in Luristan. But the culture of Talish cannot at present be dated with any surety and there are traces of other analogous cultures in Armenia and the southern Caucasus that also might have served as the starting point.

According to M. Godard, the pressure of some unidentified invaders forced the indigenous population of Talish to migrate southwards across the mountains from which they cast envious eyes on the rich lands of Susa. The finds at Mussian, M. Godard thinks, are the witness of the first contacts between them and the Elamites by whom they were repulsed, only to learn thereby the necessity of better arms and organization. Turning towards Babylon, they were again frustrated for similar reasons. About 2100 B. C., now known as the Kassites, they attacked Babylon again. Once more repulsed, they returned to the attack in 1761 B. C. and this time conquered, holding Babylon in their power for six hundred years.

It is thus that M. Godard would explain the Elamite, Sumerian, and Babylonian elements in the art of Luristan, elements missing in the culture of Talish. It is a brilliant thesis and plausible, but as yet insufficiently sustained by specific evidence and not in perfect accord with certain facts that indicate, for example, an earlier and somewhat different relation to the culture of Elam. On this problem M. de Mecquenem has thrown important light in his report of last season's work at Susa, for the forthcoming *Survey*

of *Persian Art*, in which he says: "Bronzes and painted potteries found at Luristan constitute a series which corresponds with every level known in Mesopotamia, and often show a superior quality of decoration. At Susa the excavations, especially those of this last season, have brought to light bronzes, pin heads in the form of small animals, prior to 3000 B. C., and a socket of 2500 B. C. analogous to Luristan pieces. Thus it is evident that there was some continuous intercourse between Elam and the mountain people and probably there was some more definite relation."

M. Godard indicates the Mesopotamian origin of most of the Luristan iconography with its endless variants of the Gilgamesh motive, but he does not discuss the interesting dismemberment motive which had such important consequences in Scythian art. M. Godard apparently feels it is too early to discuss the question of the relation of Luristan bronzes to the Scythian bronzes. He makes the interesting suggestion that both Scythian and Siberian animal art and that of Luristan as well, are beholden to a yet unidentified people who occupied the west Caspian or Caucasus region from which the people of Luristan derived much of their style. There is, however, more evidence than M. Godard indicates, that it is the bronzes from Luristan rather than those from some unknown, unidentified, and perhaps non-existing people that influenced the Scythes, and with their culture drifted eastward across Siberia. The T'ao T'ieh head on the bracelet in the Reber Collection of Lausanne and a still more magnificent T'ao T'ieh head on the cup in the collection of Mrs. William H. Moore; the confronted lions which appear so often in the Han pottery; the various types of Luristan bronze vessels and implements which we find repeated in Han bronzes, all are evidence that the connection between Luristan and the Far East must have been rather direct.

M. Godard has included a useful and full bibliography, covering all angles of the general question. But a group of articles in the *Illustrated London News* (by Professor Herzfeld in the issues of June 1 and 8, 1929, and by the reviewer, September 6 and 13, 1930) which gave the first information about the Luristan bronzes and about similar antecedent finds in nearby regions are not mentioned, nor is Prof. Minorsky's article in the *Apollo* (March, 1931), in which he summarized his statement at the Second International Congress of Persian Art and Archaeology, when he first proposed the identification of the peoples of Luristan with the ancient Cossaeus, a brilliant idea for which he deserves full credit, even though others may have come independently to the same conclusion.

Arthur Upham Pope

